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CHARACTER EDUCATION IN A DEMOCRACY

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BY
S. R. SLAVSON

Author of
CREATIVE GROUP EDUCATION
Co-author of
SCIENCE IN THE NEW EDUCATION

ASSOCIATION PRESS
1939
NEW YORK

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OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

Printed in the United States of America

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL NEW YORK CITY 261

This book is dedicated to the memory of
HARRY L. GLUCKSMAN,
who gave his life to the building
of a true American community

INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth century was appropriately described by Ellen Key as the *Century of the Child*. If our present civilization survives, the twentieth may be known to history as the *Century of Education*.

At no equivalent period in the past were so much thought, effort, and funds invested in education as in the last three decades. New techniques and methods were evolved during that period, and the bases of education itself re-evaluated.

Revision in all areas is forced by our changing times, for the stress from contemporary socio-economic disintegration creates a need for new props to sustain social life. There are new demands placed upon the individual by the unequilibrated social forces of today. As a result, the home, the school, and leisure-time agencies face new responsibilities. Just what these are is not definite. Some of the leading men in American thought are convinced that the capitalist-individualist order and the competitive price system are being permanently modified. Others even believe that a new co-operative society is irrevocably rising in their stead, and the opponents of this change are described as "traitors to human progress."

But aside from these larger social problems, grave and weighty as they are, there are immediate and pressing tasks that must be met by the home, schools, voluntary groups, recreation, adult education, and social work. They all assume new meanings in changed or changing circumstances. Schools need to revise some courses and to add or eliminate others. Leisure-time education, too, has a new function to perform and must alter its practice and philosophy. Adult education is no longer a blanket concept. It has many missions in the modern world, and must establish anew its criteria. The general aim is to find a way of transferring learning and experience so that they will work for further individual development and for social advance. In a changing and fluid society, one is less interested in specialization than in diversification, resourcefulness, and attitudes.

To adjust to the pressing necessities of life today—and to resist the many temptations that beset us, children (and adults) need to develop a capacity for straight thinking and altruistic action. The major function of education today is to prepare and motivate people for building a progressive democratic society, which involves, among other things, conditioning of attitudes and fortifying the total personality as it relates to the outer world.

Character training and personality development proceed from initiation, self-direction, and informality. These result from a variety of meaningful and appropriate activity in a group setting. An education such as this vitalizes and integrates man; leads to dynamic participation in social life, satisfying vocations, and permanent, sustaining interests. Obviously, while the work in existing schools, "Y's", and centers perpetuates dependence, competition, and the method of verbalization, it cannot achieve the ends and the special task of character and personality education needed today.

We are rapidly leaving behind us the "child-centered" stage in education. In its day, this apt phrase pushed into the background information-centered teaching. We have accepted as self-evident the fact that the preponderant number of children are inherently biologic. They prefer doing to learning; they like to be in groups; they prefer playing together to competing with one another for higher marks in something in which they have no real interest. These ideas have been extended through the recognition that community needs and social attitudes are paramount in a democracy; that status and freedom are a return for participation in, and responsibility for, the affairs of the larger world.

Personality, as modernly conceived, is a product of many elements: heredity, health, the home, the school, the club, the play group, the job, economics, the culture of the surrounding world. We must, therefore, deal with all these if we wish to evolve an effective education of the "total personality." In *Creative Group Education,* I have attempted to outline a practice and a point of view, by means of which "all aspects of the human personality are called into unitary function through appropriate educative situations." The present volume aims to extend this approach to include the total setting in which we live, and to outline the effect of group pressures and culture in shaping character.

Education today consists of numerous influences from a myriad of sources. It occurs at every contact with the world of things and of people. Educators, therefore, must learn to look upon their job in the setting of life itself; they must conceive their mission as a part of a larger whole. The time has come for parents, teachers, recreational workers, leisure-time educators, and social workers to abandon the segmental, the piecemeal, approach. One must no longer speak only of classroom teaching, nor of the child-centered school, nor of community-centered education, nor of case work. One must become aware of all these and other influences upon the final outcome: personality. We must look to an *integrative education,* in which the confluence of all factors, and the relation of these factors to one another, are considered.

This book is an effort to do just this.

I wish to call attention at this point to a newly evolving educational procedure. Club work, which was later expanded and known as group work, and now as *group education,* has received little attention from official educators. In fact, for a time it was not considered education at all. The new meaning of education, however, has brought to the fore the importance of intimate, informal, face-to-face relations to character, to personality, and to social development. As a result, group education is gaining a respectable place among the more accepted educational efforts in modern America. Formal education is not enough. Unofficial education is as important as the official school. In fact schools, to be fully effective, will have to be informalized and group conscious.

I am greatly indebted to my friend S. M. Keeny, editor of Association Press, for careful editing of the book and for his help in simplifying many passages both in this volume and in *Creative Group Education.* My thanks are due to Miss Mary Grahn for conscientious and painstaking secretarial help.

S. R. S.

New York, May, 1939

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION vii

I. THE CONFLICT BETWEEN CHARACTER AND CULTURE 1

Education for Democracy. Youth Faces Social Disharmony. Youth Faces Confusion. Competitive Society as a Rejecting Society. Society Puts Everyone on Probation. The Atmosphere of a Permissive Society. Criteria for a Permissive Culture. Education in a Permissive Culture. The Conflict Between Impulse and Culture. Man's Basic Deprivations.

II. SOCIAL ROOTS OF "HUMAN NATURE" 23

The Concept of Human Nature. Conditioning Factors. Modern Education Looks at Primitive Society. Character and Experience. The Tyranny of Conscience. Words Are Impotent. Micro-Cultures in Personality Development. What Is "Orderly Development"? The Flight from Maturity. Escape into the Group. The Menace of Mass-Mindedness.

III. EDUCATION FOR A DYNAMIC SOCIETY 52

The Meeting Ground of Formal and Informal Education. Spontaneity in Education. The Problem of Motivation. Social Discovery. Categories of Objectives. Exploitive, Apprentice, and Dynamic Education. Propaganda v. Education. The Method of Activity. Education Resists the New Barbarism. Education as Guidance. The Pre-Logical Phase of Education. The Child's Dream World. Larger Objectives of Education.

IV. GROUP DYNAMICS 73

Aggregation in Nature and Society. The Group as a Triangle. Interstimulation and Interaction. Induction and Interstimulation. The Phenomenon of Neutralization. Mutual Identification. Assimilation. Polarity and Group Cohesiveness. Rivalry and the Need to be the Only One. Projection as a Factor in Group Disintegration. Integration and Arrested Development. A Gestalt Theory of Conservatism. Group Dynamics in Character Formation. The Primary Group Code.

V. INDIVIDUAL RESOURCES 89

The Dominance of Self-Love. The Transformation of Ego-Love into Object-Love. Directing Activity Drives. The Value of "Success." Self-Determination. Monotony and the Need for New Experiences. The Ego Drives and Character Integration. Resistance, Conflict, and Will. Redirecting Hatred. The Drives for Mastery: 1. *The Pursuit Tendency;* 2. *The Exploratory Tendency;* 3. *The Drive to Discovery;* 4. *Curiosity;* 5. *The Drive-to-be-the-Cause;* 6. *The Creative Urge.* The Dependence Trends (Social): 1. *The Need for Identification;* 2. *Fixations;* 3. *The Collective Tendency;* 4. *The Communication Drive.*

VI. CORRECTIVE EFFORTS 115

Some Distortive Forces. The Mental Hygiene Approach. Psychiatry and Psychotherapy. Case Work. The Visiting Teacher. Special Classes and Groups. Group Education. Case Work-Group Work Integration. The Consultative Clinic Plan. Group Therapy. Re-education.

VII. PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT AS AN EDUCATIONAL AIM 139

Concepts of Personality. Education for Personality Development. Health Education. Family Guidance. Psychological Guidance. The Question of Sex Education. Co-education and the Biologic Destiny. School Guidance. Creative Expression.

VIII. CHARACTER TRAINING AS AN EDUCATIONAL AIM 150

The Relation Between Character and Personality. Character as Control. Character as Adjustment. Character as Disposition. Character as Discipline. Methods in Character Education. Education for Parenthood. The Ego Ideal. Tolerance toward Self.

IX. EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION 160

Foundations for Social Education. Social v. Societal Education. Organic Bases for Socialization. Methods of Social Education: 1. *Freedom of Function;* 2. *Group Activity;* 3. *Group Co-Activity Versus Inter-Group Activity;* 4. *Non-competitive Values;* 5. *Self-Government and Self-Direction;* 6. *Communal Participation.*

X. OTHER EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES 175

Vocational Guidance. Avocational Interests. To Refine Selective Capacity. To Develop Creative Power and Creative Imagination. To Develop Leadership. To Develop a Sense of Reality. To Develop Intellectual Hospitality. The Emergence of a Philosophy of Life.

XI. GRADATIONS IN ADULT EDUCATION 190

The Discrepancy Between Age and Maturity. Maximal Programs v. Attainable Ends. Categories of Adult Education: 1. *Belated Elementary Schooling;* 2. *College Substitutive Courses;* 3. *Special Interest Activity;* 4. *Cultural Opportunities;* 5. *Social Action.*

XII. MAJORITY AND MINORITY GROUP ATTITUDES 204

Cultures v. Nations. Why We Discriminate Against Others. Discrimination Is a Sign of Defective Character. Minority Groups Are the Leaven. Advantages and Disadvantages. The X-Factors in Intercultural Education.

INDEX 219

CHAPTER I

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN CHARACTER AND CULTURE

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

Both formal and informal education have a very special service to perform in the life of a democratic society. In addition to preserving and perpetuating the cultural heritage of the race, they must also seek means to develop growing youth for social participation. The function of education in such an atmosphere is not merely to transmit sterile facts. It must vitalize the personality for creative living. Thus, education can no longer remain satisfied with the passive rôle it played in the past. It now must become dynamic. If social life is to become group life, education must be the proving and training ground in group action. In fact, education itself must become a group process. At present, a classroom and a club are often mere *gatherings* of persons, having little in common with each other. Although these gatherings may be motivated by a conscious or unconscious common purpose, the group process is not called into action.

In the old education, relationships between teacher or leader and the members of the class or club, and among the members themselves, do not set up mutual stimulation. Instead of being *socially creative* the traditional club and classroom rather check the free flow of social interaction. They are *socially immobilizing*.[1] A group, whether it be a family, a schoolroom class, or a club, in which deeper responses of people to one another are not set up and where personalities are not in a constant process of interpenetration, fails to be educative. When the roots of personality have been kept from growing, how can one expect social interest in later life unless some means of reviving them is found? This basic problem is also facing adult education.

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[1] For a discussion of the dynamics of group action, see Chapter IV.

The techniques of classroom, "group work," and recreation must therefore be revised to encourage participation rather than spectatorism. They must become dynamic rather than static, active rather than passive. In his previous volume, *Creative Group Education,* an attempt has been made by this author to discuss the various practical details involved in reconstructing education along lines indicated here. The group process, i.e., the give and take, with resulting strains and stresses, conflicts and coherences, is essential in personality development and character training.

A democratic culture transfers some of the responsibility of the state to its citizens. It draws the governed into its deliberations and seeks their approval and consent. Governments in such a culture function by the consent of the governed. "This is not the fact in tribal nations organized around a tribal head, the dictator, or the being who represents the infantile symbol of the strict and dominating father. A democratic society imposes upon each of its citizens shared responsibility. It also offers a share of the gains that accrue. Such a society considers its citizens adults capable of reflection, self-direction, and group participation. A dictator or a political oligarchy, on the other hand, treats the population as though they were infants. Here we find on a large scale a replica of the home, where the ruler acts as the father, with the subjects his obedient children. Aside from the fact that special economic interests and exploitation are always the motives behind such a scheme, the assumption of an autocratic régime (repressive culture) is that the population is incapable of understanding and reflecting; that its will is capricious and unreliable, and therefore needs to be directed and repressed. The dependence of early childhood upon the judgment and authority of elders and the powerful is perpetuated as a social principle and as a governmental practice.

"The success of a democracy, on the other hand, rests upon the individual's capacity for self-determination and voluntary group life. Democracy is a relation in which only developed adults can participate fully. A democracy in any country, therefore, is possible only to the degree that the maturity of its citizens permits. Childish dependence, ambitions, and self-centeredness . . . make co-operative effort and group integration well-nigh impossible. Accordingly, education in a democratic plan of life (permissive culture) has two major functions to perform. In the first place, it must direct the *orderly and wholesome development of the human personality.* Its second major duty is to develop those dispositions of man's nature that make him desirous and capable of *participating in a progressive and evolving society.*"[2]

Thus, the task of education is to mature the child's personality in an orderly fashion, as will be indicated in our discussion of the successive groups or micro-cultures in Chapter II. Generally speaking, this means dissolving the various infantile forms of dependence and developing wider loyalties. If each individual is to bear the responsibilities of a well-ordered society, it is necessary that he grow capable emotionally as well as intellectually to meet his obligations. The tools of education for a democratic or permissive culture must therefore be the tools of social living: self-determination within the framework of group life, social participation, self-fulfilment, and the development of attitudes in conformity with the needs of the body politic through inner choice rather than force. This can be achieved only when education employs the group process.

Youth Faces Social Disharmony

When we examine the content of character education we find a field considerably less clear than the methods employed in conditioning it. Mental health and the needs of individual adjustment require that there be easy transition from infancy to childhood, then to youth and adulthood. We must not force the inhibitions of civilization too rapidly nor too violently upon the growing child. He must take these on by easy stages and accept the demands of the larger world with a good will and a friendly spirit. His ideas need encouragement, a sympathetic hearing, and guidance. He must be accepted in the world of industry by having a suitable job ready at hand. Society must assure for youth satisfying results for honest effort rather than force them into futile pursuits after a job and needless struggle. At the present time, more than ever before, youth is faced with numerous and sharply conflicting ideologies, theories, and values. A democratic society and healthy personality development require that these conflicts be adjusted. At the same time, education must guide youth toward a constructive solution of its problems.

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[2] Slavson, S. R., *Creative Group Education.* New York: Association Press, 1937, p. 6.

Society is inherently conservative. It seeks its own security through perpetuating existing patterns. Usually, traditions do not keep pace with changing needs. Altered means of obtaining a livelihood, for example, may result in different relations and practices among people. Improved transportation often changes a nation's diet and other customs, for contact with other cultural groups brings about shifts in attitudes and values. This, however, does not happen at once. Traditional attitudes pass on from one generation to the next, perhaps for centuries. Such a "cultural lag" assures some stability to the body politic; but, at the same time, it retards social growth and makes adjustment for individuals in the new generations more difficult.

In addition to the lag and disharmony in cultural development, we must reckon with the pressure of vested interests that *each culture* develops. Those in positions of power create the machinery to assure their own survival. Conspicuous waste, force, defense of traditions, and bigotry, are among the tools that they employ. They take over the control of the means of communication, especially the printed and spoken word, as well as all other attitude-determining agencies, such as the church, and recreation, voluntary, and pressure groups. Schools, especially, are the target of the ruling and powerful groups.

After an extensive factual study dealing with this topic, Professor Bruce Raup of Teachers College, Columbia University, concludes that: "Both indirectly and directly, the teacher feels the pressure of . . . organized interests. Such pressure is brought to the classroom in the background of the young people whom he teaches; it is present in his own personality; it is operating in the atmosphere which they all breathe, through advertising, publicity, and all kinds of propaganda; and, finally, it often breaks out in public attack, perhaps in legislation, upon what he teaches and the way he teaches." He further says: "The educator and the school are constantly under pressure from the 'patriotic' interests. Armed defense of the country, these interests insist, must be maintained. Preparedness for war must not be undermined. . . . This consensus is deeply intrenched in economic, political, and cultural life."[3]

Education has always been used to prop up the existing social structure. Subject matter has been kept static, and "respectable" opinion has sought to strengthen current doctrines and views. The ideals instilled have aimed at the acceptance of existing modes of life. The ethics taught the young have urged them to submit to class rule as inevitable and right. To seek change in the *status quo* is branded as "unpatriotic." The sense of self-worth has been built up in relation to current cultural, social, and economic patterns. Whoever suggested change has been made out an enemy of the people and disloyal. The aim has been to build up enthusiasm in the individual citizen for existing conditions. It is essential for those who have most to lose by social change that the attitude-determining influence of education be kept under rigid control. The expression of divergent views by teachers has been ruthlessly suppressed. Only those who fully represented vested interests and could be relied upon to work for their perpetuation have been acceptable. In monarchical countries the persons of the king and his family are used as objects of glory. In industrial countries the "successful" are similarly used. Thus, we find that education aims to develop attitudes and values not necessarily suitable for changing times nor to actual individual needs.

Although this opposition to change may be justified by convincing rationalizations, the real resistance if not due to intellectual and social lag, arises from carefully designed plans to buttress the prevailing social order. As a result, effort in educational enterprises toward inculcating or evolving higher social values comes into conflict with the more imposing values of the everyday world. In a world that has been described by some as basically organized on dishonesty and crime and where the greater the criminal "within the law," the greater his social prestige and reward, it is difficult to impress young persons with social idealism, with group feeling, and with a desire for world improvement. Character-building agencies, and education generally, cannot anticipate extensive results from their work in a world of antagonistic values. All that can be said is that adults can exert their best efforts and use the most valid approach to social education. But if they are convinced and serious in their work, they will at the same time exert every available means to create a world in consonance with their educational ideals.

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[3] *Education and Organized Interests in America.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1936, p. 2.

In repressive cultures, submission and obedience are the great virtues. The home, the church, and the school hold out promises of reward to the meek and the humble. In the permissive cultures of democratic societies, ideals of unselfishness, devotion to a cause and to one's neighbor, loyalty, and honesty are among the many virtues promulgated. Democracy and submission are in theory mutually exclusive. In practice, political repression in a democracy is reprehensible, but economic and intellectual submission seem to be acceptable. In order that the conflict between democratic ideology and economic deprivation may be less apparent, ideals to check the self-determining drives of the individual are taught. Therefore a set of "virtues" are promulgated to assure the continuance of the existing contradictions. We may say that *in repressive cultures the ideals are those of submission; in permissive cultures they are altruistic, at least by intent.*

YOUTH FACES CONFUSION

The child (and, later, the youth) is impressed with these ideals. But he cannot remain long under their sway. The practices and attitudes that he meets at every turn give the lie to it all. The actual relations between men are not of mutual helpfulness and regard; they are rather of constant strife and struggle. Co-operation is a mere password; for everyone is engaged in ceaseless competition with everyone else. Honesty is often an empty phrase, for even the child can perceive the perpetual dishonesty, cheating, and exploitation that goes on around him. Even the very young cannot escape the cruelty that pervades the atmosphere of modern life, refined though it may be. The jungle laws that rule our competitive, acquisitive society press heavily upon young and old. One cannot escape them at home, at school, and especially in the outside world. In contrast only a few generations ago pronouncement and practice, precept and act, were to some degree consistent. An honest man could actually apply his convictions in his own business. It was possible for some to pursue their professions and occupations "ethically." There was no need for a large proportion of the population to outrage every sense of decency to secure economic survival. At the present time even the most honored and socially important professions cannot be practised ethically. The evil of competition has eaten its way to the very marrow of life, and disintegrates it.

To make the necessary adjustments to the demands of an acquisitive and competitive culture is considered by some a desirable form of meeting reality. Those who hold such views seem to overlook the fact that idealism is a part of reality; in fact, it creates reality. In many instances, one chooses, on the one hand, between the inner reality of the socially motivated self—a feeling of inner integrity—and external values of acquisition and "success" on the other. The choice must frequently be made between social aims and selfish interests. We are witnessing the incongruous spectacle of a society that dubs as weaklings those of its members most attuned to its own higher values, while the aggressive, egoistic, and possessive-minded receive applause and masquerade as heroes.

In a state of such conflicting values the child and youth cannot but come to doubt and grow confused. When ideology and practices are at such variance, the groping mind of the evolving youth is bound to feel impotent and frustrated. Youth, therefore, becomes cynical and hostile and seeks abandonment in self-indulgence. Realizing the failure of their elders in creating a world consistent with their desire and intent, the young cannot feel a sense of responsibility. They therefore give themselves to the impulses of pleasure and of acquiring status in the group in which they may find themselves. They strive to excel all others; to acquire riches, power, possession, prestige. The rule of life in past generations was submission. The growing freedom has as yet not evolved adequate means for establishing inner controls and higher values. Our youth are, therefore, in a state of confusion.

But the elements that serve to confuse modern man are not limited to the ideological disharmony we just described. His confusion begins much earlier—in fact, in infancy. The infant's and child's earliest aggressive acts are curbed. As soon as he acts upon the world, largely because he wants to explore and understand it, he meets with more or less violent frustration. In a home designed for the convenience of adults and for impressing neighbors, there is little room for the needs of childhood. The free movement and free manipulation, the shouting and screaming essential to ego-development must be inhibited and repressed. Congestion and just as often the need to maintain a good appearance make free expression and normal growth almost impossible. The native needs for activity and for investigation in the child are continually blocked. The lack of proper play facilities further adds to the educational deprivations of the children of the poor.

But this is far from completing the picture of the early forces that distort the child's character. The furtive reaction of adults and other children in matters that are of supreme importance and of keen curiosity to the child, such as sex and excretion, arouses his suspicion and fear. The child attempts to observe and to experiment; but these efforts to understand only call forth reprimands, punishments, and more guarded secrecy. The child has a great need to know about these things. Knowledge of them would give him a feeling of fearlessness. He would then need no longer lie awake wondering and puzzling as to their meaning and nature; he would need no longer experiment to determine their sensations and thus become permanently interested in them. The unfortunate by-product of this thinking and dreaming is a feeling of guilt. Preoccupation with prohibited curiosities makes the child feel guilty. He now has a secret of his own. He must guard it lest he be found out. Dishonesty, indirection, and many more serious personality quirks and social disorientation often have their roots here.

Conditions under which the child grows up in the modern world, especially in large cities, are in many respects harmful. The dangers of developing personality distortions because of the inconsistencies in our culture, repressions of biological drives, intellectual and emotional confusion, and taboos, are so numerous and ever-present that few escape damage. Modern psychiatry has unearthed a startlingly large number of neurotics in what seemed to be a "normal" population, and has shown that even psychoses are frequently caused by excessive strain and stress. Persons who might have remained wholesome and intact under a quieting and easy environment have become more or less seriously deranged under excessive and often unnecessary difficulties.

COMPETITIVE SOCIETY AS A REJECTING SOCIETY

We must recognize the very important fact that *a capitalist, competitive society is fundamentally a rejecting society.* In an agricultural state the very order of life, with its comparative physical and economic security, has an accepting and comforting atmosphere. The individual is rooted in the soil, in his family, and in the immediate community. He derives strength and security from the certainty of these relationships. The sources of his livelihood are near at hand. All he has to do is put in the required work and reap the harvest of his effort, meager though it may be. True, there are climatic vicissitudes and loss through insects and pests. Work is strenuous and hours long, but the general pattern of life is serene and friendly. There is little competition among the members of the community. The land is ready to receive man with the welcome and warmth of a mother. No wonder she was called "mother earth"!

This picture does not fit the situation of today. The city dweller (and the farmer as well) is not welcomed with open arms to participate in the world's work. His efforts do not meet ready acceptance. He must scramble and push and search for the opportunity to work. His honest desire to discharge his responsibility and to gain security is not rewarded. Each individual must first sell himself. He must find a buyer for his power, whether it be manual or intellectual. The sources of a livelihood do not lie fallow at hand, as they do in the fields and in the forests, ready for man's work and willing to compensate him for his exertion. In the overcrowded labor markets of today, an ever-present source of anxiety and fear is the uncertainty of a job. Hunting for a job is among the most debasing human experiences. To offer one's capacity to create—the greatest gift of nature to man—and have it repeatedly rejected, strikes deeply at the roots of personality. The feeling of self-worth, of self-respect, and of personal pride cannot be maintained under such conditions. The feeling of degradation that inevitably results from this continual rejection of one by society fundamentally affects character and capacity.

This rejection is particularly destructive for young people.

Youth is self-centered and proud. It has faith and ideals. Pride, faith, and ideals are the foundations upon which sound character is built. To undermine or distort them is to weaken personality and to invite rebellion. How can the masters of such a society expect youth to be loyal and constructive? Psychologically, this is not possible; for rejection sets up rage and hostility—and desire for revenge. Youth is naturally restless and rebellious against authority. It is necessary for sound character that youth become friendly to social authority and a part of it. Instead, society increases youth's natural hostility and its resistance to assimilation with adult society. Enforced idleness and actual want drive many to delinquency and crime.

Society Puts Everyone on Probation

In contemporary society each individual must prove himself worthy of acceptance. Whether he natively possess strength or not, whether his powers were weakened by poor nutrition or through lack of opportunity, is no concern of the group. The individual is held responsible for himself as though he could reach any heights if he only *willed* to do so. The fallacy of such an assumption has been demonstrated in numerous ways and is by now quite obvious. An individual cannot be held entirely responsible for his failure or success. Either internal conditions (health, recuperative power, energy, resources) or external circumstances (neighborhood, emotional conditions in the home and elsewhere, economic circumstances, and other opportunities) determine the final outcome. Congenital low intelligence or other personality defects, poverty, membership in a low social stratum, and numerous other factors come into play. But even the "normal" and the gifted meet with determined resistance and rejection. Talent is far from being appreciated or encouraged, and most of one's energy is taken up with creating opportunities rather than with creating. Each individual is on probation. Should he for any reason fail, he falls by the wayside.

The Atmosphere of a Permissive Society

Character is not determined by the school and the church, as it was commonly thought until recently. Even the home can no longer be said to be so potent in shaping personality as it has been in the past. There are greater forces now operating than these once all-important influences in the life of the individual. The forces to which we refer here are the total culture. Does this culture emphasize personal success and competition or communal interests and co-operation? Does it compensate the good and the benevolent or the aggressive and the selfish, leaving the former to reap their reward in the world to come? To a considerable extent, socially motivated education and religion find it difficult to compete with these pressing realities. They find that ideals in conflict with actuality are not very popular. Only a few (and their number is constantly diminishing) hold out against the temptations of the world. They are the ones whose visions reach out beyond immediacy. To them reality is a combination of actuality and idealism. They are the truly practical people. They seek to put the immediate and the material in the service of an evolving and a better mankind.

Thus, education is not limited to the home, the school, and the church. The good home and school are designed to meet the existing needs of the child, on the one hand; and to arouse further needs in his progressive development, on the other. They emphasize the group process and social living, at the same time being aware of individual needs and problems. The home and school, however, do not operate apart from the rest of the world. What is even worse from the point of view of character education is that both reflect that world.

Attitudes in members of a family to each other reflect the values and the compelling needs of the larger culture. In an agricultural society, for example, where economic ties are close, family loyalties and dependence are more intense and more lasting. In an industrial culture, where independent means for earning a livelihood exist, the family is a loose grouping, with loyalties greatly lessened. In numerous less obvious but equally certain ways is the pressure of the larger culture felt in the smaller and more intimate group of the family, the classroom, and the club.

As we compare the structure of the family in the past and in the present, the influences of social and economic conditions become even more apparent. The loosely-held-together group of modern days resembles only faintly the compact family group of the past. The imperious and tyrannical rule of the man of the house hardly exists in the same form today. He must be careful if he desires to retain a place of authority, for his wife and children may leave him, so that he will be a ruler without subjects. This fluidity in family relations is made possible by the fact that there are many more ways of earning a living now, and that moral pressure, largely for the same reason, is not so adamant as it once was. Life in loosely knit communities, such as large cities, allows much that would be unheard of in villages or small towns. Neighbors do not watch so closely; one does not see them so often. Though inhabitants of cities live closer together physically than those in smaller communities, the greater number of people and the arrangement of dwellings make it much easier to lose oneself in the crowd. Restraints and sanctions that are derived from intimate living with other people (sometimes referred to as the *super-ego*) are, as a result, greatly diminished. Social conventions and fear of the opinions and judgments of others no longer pursue one; their tyranny is reduced, and one can allow himself greater latitude in action and outlook.

Because of these conditions, many of the old symbols of authority have lost their power. State, church, president, policeman and priest no longer inspire fear and awe to the same degree. They are viewed as authority, to be sure, but not the thundering, implacable beings of yesteryear. They no longer have power to mete out dire punishment and destruction. Persons in authority have been humanized in the eyes of children and of their elders. Largely as a result of these changed attitudes in democratic and industrial communities, the unquestioned authority of parents over their children has undergone definite transformations. As a general rule, parental authority is not so imperious as it once was, and it does not continue so long. Enlightenment concerning child needs, and the liberalizing atmosphere of modern life have revised ideas of parental control. Parents and children are being brought ever closer into a relation of mutuality. This attitude of fearlessness toward parents and adults generally is then in turn carried over to attitudes toward the police, government, and church.

Thus, in modern society we live in a comparatively *permissive culture*. In such a culture much is allowed that was taboo in former repressive cultures. Except under the current dictators, there has been a general diminution in the pressure from the community upon the individual. In such a culture, restraint has not only diminished; it is also applied with greater discrimination. Acts and thoughts arouse disapproval and persecution only when the possible outcome may be injurious to the body politic. All matters that concern only the individuals involved are now more likely to be overlooked, at least by the more intelligent. Morals and laws are no longer inviolate taboos; they have become more elastic.

Criteria for a Permissive Culture

This widening tolerance has played havoc with the established educational, religious, and governmental agencies. As already indicated, the controlling influence of the family has been greatly reduced. Schools and teachers are also being compelled to make concessions to their pupils. The church has lost much of its hold upon a great number of the population. Thus, the unbridled instinctive ego of the child is no longer repressed with the same thoroughness as in the past. Egocentric and self-centered impulses do not meet with the same restraints. As a result, the agencies concerned with character formation and the socializing of personality have found it necessary to develop other approaches, other methods, and philosophies than those employed in the repressive cultures of the past. Some of these will be described later.

Child study, mental hygiene, and progressive education do not spring only from richer scientific discoveries, greater humanitarian outlook, and enlightenment. They are rather products of the times. They meet the needs of a permissive culture, which are quite different from those in a repressive one. Repressive cultures are effective only because repression is general. The control of means of earning a livelihood, the law, the church, and other strict taboos as to social behavior reinforce parental authority in bringing the individual to complete submission. There have, to be sure, been times when pressure had to be removed or lessened at some point. Usually this brought about a general change in society. In the immediate past, changes in economic conditions have brought about corresponding changes in attitudes toward religion, law, family relations, and morals. Group life cannot be stable where disequilibrium of its controlling agencies exists; for in moral matters individuals take the road of least resistance. Unevenness in social regulations creates discontent, loss of prestige, and rebellion.

Although direct control and prohibitions are suitable means for a repressive society, a permissive society must find other methods for maintaining its vigor and stability. *It must establish inner sanctions to take the place of the diminishing outer restraint;* it must evolve a socially motivated sense of right and wrong and not implant fear. The task of the new society is not to develop more refined means for keeping man in check and in repressing him, but rather to open possibilities for a satisfying and creative life. We need the kind of a planned social economy by means of which man's basic needs for self-realization as a creative and social being can find fulfilment. Only thus can the state hope to secure the co-operation and voluntary loyalty of its citizens in creating a free and fluid society.

These larger and more remote objectives for social evolution are the special concern of the agencies that are immediately and directly involved in creating social patterns and attitudes. Chief among these are the various political and economic pressure groups, enlightened religion, the arts and the sciences. Freedom to disseminate socially valid ideas is of prime importance in this process. Literature, the press, the pulpit, the radio, the school, and adult education are necessary for achieving desirable results. These means of social control can be readily distinguished from the repressive tools of police, arrests, the censor, concentration camps, and public humiliation employed by authoritarian societies. Control in a permissive society is achieved by educational means. Such a society seeks to establish identification on the part of the ruled with the rulers. It encourages participation by citizens, or seeks approval from them of its plans and acts. The keywords of democracy and of social action are freedom, status, responsibility, and participation. Social action, i.e., group effort to achieve desirable social ends, can be secured either by heightened emotions, which is the way of the demagogue and the dictator, or by deliberative discussion and group assent.

EDUCATION IN A PERMISSIVE CULTURE

We have seen that, in a permissive culture, the individual cannot rely upon external control of his behavior. Such a culture, we said, allows greater diversity, originality, and initiative than could be covered by codes and laws. In the past, right and wrong were defined by secular and ecclesiastical authority. In a permissive community it is necessary to establish *inner sanctions* to take the place of outer control, making justice, social responsibility, and behavior largely a matter of individual preference. In an authoritarian culture, home, school, and society sanction and prohibit behavior and thought. The rules for life come from without; they are centripetal. In a permissive culture, on the other hand, controls must largely emanate from the individual himself; i.e., centrifugally. He becomes responsible for his acts and thoughts. The total educational influences, therefore, must establish the basis for inner socially-motivated sanctions as contrasted with the external sanctions of less evolved societies. This can be done only by indirect means; namely, through assuring the development of the total personality with special reference to its social components. Since the rule of thumb is no longer so applicable to social life as it was in the past, social cohesiveness must be an outcome of fundamental group attitudes. We accept the view of modern education that its task is to stimulate and develop self-reliance, judgment, the capacity to think clearly and unemotionally; and to make choices. Important as these qualities are, they answer the needs of modern interdependent man only when the "frame of reference" employed is an evolving and social one. Even though this principle does not entirely satisfy the demands of actuality in our contemporary society, it seems more promising than any other known as a working formula to help solve society's ills. Education would be a simple matter were it as easy to influence human feelings and thoughts as is suggested in the following statement: "The leader or teacher takes the young person and considers a matter with him, tries to understand what it means, helps him to think on all sides of the question so that he can make up his mind on the issues involved after considering them thoroughly . . . on the principle that thinking persons can and will act intelligently." But the difficulty with the procedure of *direct* teaching and discussion as outlined is that people emotionalize and symbolize their beliefs and views. Their ego-ideals, strivings, frustrations, and ambitions are deeply involved in all such matters, and an objective discussion will hardly dissipate or dissolve such feelings.

As society progresses and becomes more vital and variegated, traditionalism suffers; education's aim, therefore, should be to reduce the cultural lag. It should seek to develop a receptivity and readiness to adjust to evolving needs. For this, emotional responsiveness and intellectual hospitality are essential. The task of mental hygiene as well as of education is to reduce rigidity and inflexibility and to develop a disposition to accept change. The total educational experience in the home, in the school, in the club—wherever the child's personality is affected deeply—must reduce the stranglehold of the past. It must seek to eradicate infantile dependence and to establish instead the most important of all habits: the habit to change habit. "The school which serves as the residual inheritor of neglected educational functions, had to expand its curriculum to meet the needs of advancing society."[4]

The mental set involved in cultural backwardness arises from two sources. Man's quest for security and his fear of the unknown tie him to what already exists: the knowable and the secure. Change sets up a state of inner anxiety; for the nature and outcome of change are unpredictable. Change also demands readjustment in behavior, relations, and attitude. It means casting away at least a part of one's personality and taking on new features. It is understandable that, in view of the alterations involved, socially and psychologically, in change, there should exist hesitancy and resistance to it.

The task of character education at this point is quite clear. In the first place, it must give the courage and insight necessary to accept orderly social growth. The conservative approach to life is largely based on a feeling of insecurity. This fear is built up through the home, the school, and other influences that affect personality. It is necessary to eliminate the fears that form the basis for non-liberal attitudes. To accept change one must be personally liberated. A forward-looking philosophy is not limited to one area of a man's interests. If one has a progressive attitude, it will permeate all of his thoughts and actions.

Also involved in the opposition to social change are the special groups and coteries that have an interest in perpetuating existing forms and practices. As already pointed out, the most minute and isolated social function spells advantage to some individuals or groups. Economic gain, the striving of the ego, or social prestige impels them to maintain the forms that bring them such advantages. It is only natural that these individuals should set afoot every means, fair or foul, to prevent the loss of these benefits. In the struggle to maintain the existing status are employed direct attack and indirection, force and cajolery, diplomacy, and conspiracy.

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[4] Smith, W. R., *Constructive School Discipline,* p. 114.

However, one who has a liberated view of the social scene and of change does not uncritically accept everything simply because it is new and unique. A liberal approach is not emotionally charged. It posits a disposition to examine new ideas and new ways. These are accepted or rejected on the basis of merit rather than of emotional bias or selfish advantage. In the view of the writer, there is no situation from which bias can be altogether eliminated. The experience of growing up in contact with and under the influence of others sets up bias in one direction or another. The intelligent person is one who strives to counteract this bias by reducing the emotional charge and thus allowing reflection and objective evaluation. It cannot be said that any decision, no matter how trivial, is free from bias. However, the task of education and of intelligence is to reduce its intensity.

Sound character is as free from the bias of personal advantage as it is from intellectual or emotional set. To seek benefit for oneself without relating it to the group or to society is a form of infantile self-love, which maturity should dispel. One does not seek the reflection of one's own image in the mirror of the world, as Narcissus did in the pool. The liberated person cannot and does not turn every incident to his own ends, nor use others as pawns in his schemes. The need for this is a result of fear. Despite existing modes and dominant practices, we must recognize that life is for all to live, and that everyone is an end in himself and not a tool to be used by others.

This view may serve only further to emphasize the conflict between character and culture. But if education is to be employed as a force for progress rather than as servant of the present, this conflict seems inevitable.

In the course of character building, it is necessary to reinforce the child for the inevitable frustrations and rejection that are in store for him. We have indicated that a competitive society is fundamentally a rejecting one. The emotional strain and conflicts on the ego-level are as a result great and numerous. To bear these and to emerge undamaged, or little damaged, is essential for sturdy character. Only the insensitive, the mature, and the integrated can come out of it unscathed. Because parents and teachers recognize these facts, they prepare children for later frustrations by repressing them in childhood. It is commonly believed that a child who "gets everything" will not know "how to go without." This philosophy seems to hold that to prepare one for suffering, it is necessary that he be made to suffer. Pain, it is averred, hardens one to pain.

This view is not only dangerous, but untrue. Frustration is faced with equanimity by those who are secure within themselves; whose lives are full and rich and satisfying. A child loved fully and *wisely* by his mother will feel secure and self-confident. He does not crave acceptance from whomever he comes in contact with. It is not a compelling need of his life. If the love needs of the child have been fully met, the foundations of self-confidence and self-sufficiency have been laid. He is not sensitive to rejection, and rejection on a job will not have the same meaning to him as to one who was emotionally deprived in childhood and youth. Education can only partially quench the thirst for love, affection, and recognition. The teacher or leader can through his demonstrated respect for the child raise the latter's self-esteem, and give him the emotional strength necessary to bear his burdens. The teacher (or club leader) is in a true sense a parent surrogate. Acceptance by him is nearly as important as by a parent. Guidance and even punishment are easily borne when one is sure of basic love and respect.

Schools and neighborhood centers need to be accepting, encouraging, and approving. Restraint and guidance grow out of the group situation and from activity. Not only does the child have to be encouraged, but also his powers, abilities, and talents need encouragement and understanding. In a good education, the total environment aids fulfilment and growth. The child's own rate of achievement in learnings and skills is respected. If the aim of education is to strengthen personality, its positive aspects and achievements are to be emphasized and not its failures and weaknesses. "No progressive society can be based upon negatives; nor can individual greatness be founded on mere inhibitions." We know enough about individual differences in people to be clear that set demands are absurd. Children are different from one another, and they mature at different rates. Their capacities cannot be standardized nor their interests ordered or imposed. Just as the true leader is sensitive to the will of his followers, so the good teacher responds to the needs of his pupils.

In a permissive culture, education must also be permissive; for, if the child is to grow up into a self-directing adult, he must experience at the earliest possible time self-direction *in appropriate areas and within the range of his capacities.* More specific definition of this rather generalized statement will be found in other parts of this volume. Freedom in education and in life need not be construed as unbridled liberty nor complete removal of external restraint. The latter is, at any rate, psychologically impossible, even if it could be made socially feasible. The fact that the child can do what he likes at school and in the club, in a manner that he prefers and to the extent of his ability, constitutes to the child a form of acceptance. To be permitted to do what one likes by an adult is a form of love. Modern education at its best is therefore a love-giving education. Although much is said in discussions of education about "self-expression" and "creative experience," their real significance as character builders lies in this love-giving characteristic. Creativity cannot occur in an atmosphere of hostility and rejection. Imposition and force do not release power. The powers of the child are constrained by fear of the adult's reaction, and by grades and marks. Improvement (even in physical growth and health) always follows in an atmosphere of a permissive, love-giving education. Thus the evil effects of a rejecting world can be to some extent counteracted and negated by means of appropriate function in school, play groups, and clubs.

The inevitable emphasis upon individualism in a competitive society is of great concern to modern character education. If education is to assume as much leadership as it is capable of under given conditions rather than remain the prop of the past, it must find means to arouse a feeling of mutualism, as differentiated from personalism. In fact, the degree of maturity of an individual is commensurate with his social impulse. The immature and the infantile remain self-centered and auto-erotic. The relations in the home and in extra-familial groups must lead the child and youth on to higher social aims and to more direct and progressive identifications with groups and the larger society. In the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt: "Our present moral and economic difficulties can be traced to the exploitation of the weak and helpless by the strong, and the way out will be found when every man learns to think in terms of other people's rights and to regard the needs of his remotest fellowman as his own and as those of his blood-brother."

The Conflict Between Impulse and Culture

Among the most serious disharmonies in the human personality with which education has to deal is the perennial conflict between impulse and culture, pleasure and reality. The life of impulse is one of immediate pleasure, but culture (group life) demands that these be curbed and harnessed. Impulse can be particularly troublesome during childhood, puberty, and adolescence. In fact, at the most important period of psychosocial orientation (i.e., at adolescence) impulse dominates, causing much stress to youth and anxiety to elders. In a sense, this is a residue of primitive life. Although impulse has been greatly complicated by the peculiar mental constitution and complexity of man, its original service was as an aid in survival. It was a driving force to secure the conditions necessary to maintain individual and group life. The impulse to attack or to exhibit served the ends of food-getting and procreative activity; but in organized society these have to be curbed and controlled until they become routines.

The instinctive life of man has been in numerous ways curbed and distorted by modern civilization. Power drives, aggressions, hostilities—these and numerous other animal roots of his native personality—have gone through transformations. The success of the civilizing process depends upon the cultural means employed in redirecting or sublimating original nature. Some of the impulses have been successfully repressed; others are still troublesome. Among the most successfully repressed impulses in modern times are the aggressive impulses; the least successfully sublimated is the procreative. The substitution of machinery for handwork, uniformity for diversity, and reproduction for originality, have greatly repressed and limited the scope of man's function. It has removed from him opportunities for aggression that he needs and that are basic to his nature. To accommodate himself to the new demands, he has undergone many physical and mental changes. He has developed keener intellect in place of sturdier muscles, greater alertness to take the place of somnolent placidity. But his inner harmony has been disturbed. Although he has conquered great vistas of land and sea and taken possession of empires of thought and knowledge, he has removed himself from the realities of his being and of his own life. This disharmony is not inherent in culture. It is, however, an element of the imbalance in culture.

If civilization were socially motivated, the resulting culture could aim to release man, enrich his opportunities, and strive for his happiness. But civilization is egocentric; it is maintained and directed by, and reflects, infantile, auto-erotic and, therefore, greedy leadership. The inevitable outcome is a culture of brutality and hostility, competition, and needless unhappiness. Education, however, cannot deal with these larger problems. They fall within the realm of more powerful forces, which have since time immemorial battled with apparently little result. The function of education is to accomplish the difficult task of humanizing children in a world of cruelty, to bring the good life into the jungle. This nearly insuperable task has been carried on by various means, some of which form the text of a good part of the present volume.

MAN'S BASIC DEPRIVATIONS

The educator must also recognize the fact that development of sturdy character and integrated personality is made a difficult and often an impossible task under the conditions of congested urban life and in a mechanized society. The need for color, space, and serenity is not satisfied by conditions of modern living. Aesthetic and sub-rational (instinctive, pre-logical) cravings and impulses are starved and repressed in a civilization that emphasizes only the intellectual and the rational. One of the greatest evils of modern education, aside from the cultural atmosphere, is that it centers around intellect at the cost of the aesthetic and the subjective. The school curriculum requires the child, even at a very early age, to overexercise his rationalistic side. Grammar, arithmetic, geography are the substance of his occupations when his real needs would be better met through poetry, music, painting, and the dance. Ideas are implanted in older children, too, almost entirely at the cost of their feeling-responses. The more sensitizing experiences should be included in a good school curriculum. Aside from these direct conditioning and repressing influences in formal and informal education, the very life of modern large communities is disorganizing. The most important part of personality, the instinctive and the primitive, is completely ignored in a world of mass-production and under conditions arising from congestion of population. No wonder that mental ills are spreading at an alarming rate and crime is a major menace to our lives! Man's essential needs cannot be starved without a penalty; for he always remains a biologic and instinctive creature.

The Associated Press, for example, reports that the American Bar Association statistical studies in 1938 show that one in every thirty-seven persons in the United States is legally a criminal and that two hundred thousand of its citizens will commit murder before they die. Major crimes are committed at the rate of one every twenty-two seconds, with the result that the United States today "has the greatest prison population in relation to total population of any country in the world." It must be noted that the number of persons committing anti-social acts of less severe character is very much larger. Other agencies estimate that one in twenty of our population will require during their lifetime treatment by a psychiatrist or hospital for serious mental disturbances. Here, too, it must be noted that this figure is low compared with the number who are so affected.

Enough has been discovered about man to establish the fact that nothing basic in his nature can be completely eliminated. It can be repressed. But repressions and frustrations have a way of creating compensatory reactions such as neuroses, insanity, and criminality. As our knowledge of mental health extends, we see ever more clearly that it is necessary to find means to convert the original instinctive drives and impulses into more desirable and socially approved forms of expression, but not to repress them altogether.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ROOTS OF "HUMAN NATURE"

THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN NATURE

The present era is not wanting in dilemmas and problems. Modern life is full of crossroad situations in which one must make a choice. Every thinking person must decide whether he is to turn to the right or left, or to steer a middle course. There is confusion in the world of values and of thought; there are fear and distrust abroad. Each group is set against every other; each is seeking to achieve its own ends. And, in the present world the end is usually thought to justify the means. In many respects we may consider ourselves at the dawn of a new era in the cycle of civilizations. Unless concerted effort is made to avoid it, the next step is likely to be a new form of barbarism; a mechanized barbarism, with only the mechanical skills passing on to posterity. The hope for a world in which the individual may reach his highest fulfilment through freedom and fraternity may go into oblivion.

In times such as these, clear thinking is essential. Although thinking is not (and never has been) sufficient in itself, action must be directed by clear understanding and dispassionate leadership. Although human action usually springs from passion rather than from reason, action must not be directed by passion. Rather, passion should follow and reinforce reason. Thus, the truly social person, the adult in mind as well as in body, will stop to redefine some of his concepts and to seek understanding.

One of the concepts least understood, and used most loosely, is that of "human nature." Too often are undesirable actions of individuals and tragic social developments attributed to it. It is often employed to describe events as inevitable because they are supposed to spring directly from this mysterious source. When politicians pilfer public coffers, war lords trump up homicidal passions, or financiers cheat the public and governments, they do so because of "human nature." Some say that we must have wars because they are essential needs of man's nature. Life, it is implied, must be bawdy and gaudy to meet his cravings.

If one listens closely to these and numerous similar assertions, he notes that those who make them are convinced that human nature is rigid and unbending. One is led to believe that, whatever else it may be, the nature of man is something he is born with—a part of his very being and unaffected by circumstances or conditions. There are those who posit that man is dominated by sin and evil. Others are just as certain that his origin is godly and sublime. Here, as elsewhere, people believe what they wish to believe. There is a general readiness to lay behavior at the door of nature rather than charge it to the account of economics, education, circumstances, and cultural pressure. Thus, greed and the lust for power are attributed to man and not to the social and economic conditions that produce them.

Modern social sciences and psychology tend at many points to deny the theory of original nature. They point out that man is not any one definite entity; that his nature is not pre-determined, continuous from generation to generation, nor independent of external circumstances. Studies of primitive as well as of modern society reveal that man is capable of infinite adjustment, and that he possesses a surprisingly wide range of variability. Although many of the facts recently popularized by investigators of primitive group life have long been known to social scientists, they have been brought into relief by modern anthropology. These studies have finally confirmed what reformers have long contended: that the mass of individuals mirror their surrounding group life. They have also made it quite plain that the most contradictory individual characteristics may exist side by side as a result of contradictory group values and practices.[1]

The dissimilarity in ways of life among different primitive groups of common origin but who have lived for generations under different geographical conditions and psychological values presents a striking array of facts in confirmation of the claim that human nature is essentially a variable. This diversity in practices proves beyond any doubt that what is commonly termed human nature is really a product of need and circumstance. Attitudes and drives assumed as essential and basic to man's personality are almost entirely absent in some groups, although the same characteristics dominate the lives of other groups not a hundred miles away. Possessiveness, aggression, and rivalry are considered unworthy and anti-social in some primitive societies. In these groups, power is shunned and the responsibilities that come with leadership are foisted upon certain individuals against their will as a social duty. They are *relieved* from these duties at the earliest possible moment, usually when the oldest son reaches puberty. Then again, a neighboring tribe may have its entire culture centered around selfishness, ruthlessness, and a high degree of individualism. In these latter groups the ideal is the strong man, who acquires many wives and many cocoanut groves and gardens.

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[1] The reader can find factual material in support of this and some of the following statements in Margaret Mead's *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies,* William Morrow and Company, 1935; also in *Co-operation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples,* edited by the same author, McGraw Hill Company, Inc., 1937.

The one culture is based upon mutual trust and co-operation. In the other, helpfulness toward persons (other than those with whom one must be civil in accordance with established codes) would arouse dismay and derision. The individual absorbs the attitudes of his environment so completely that cruel and selfish behavior is rare in the first group but common practice in the second.

Similarly, the interest in possessions, which is considered by Western psychologists as a mental need of man rather than an economic necessity, also differs greatly among these societies. In some primitive groups, property, with the exception of family tokens and most personal effects, belongs either to the community or the immediate family. In other groups of the same ethnological stock, all possessions of animals, hunting grounds, gardens, and fetishes are so completely personalized that even one's own sons are excluded from sharing them. Theft in some groups is a heinous crime. In others ritualistic stealing, at stated periods, under specific rules and circumstances, is compulsory.

In the realm of sex morality similar divergence exists. In the more submissive and more social groups sexual perversion is almost unknown. When it does occur, perhaps once in a number of generations, it becomes a sort of legend, of the bogey-man variety. On the other hand, in neighboring tribes and identical ethnically, competition between father and son and between brothers for the possession of a bride is the rule. In fact, some primitive societies are founded entirely upon filial rivalry. The relations of the sexes as regards parenthood are also founded upon different concepts in different groups. In some tribes either one or the other sex is economically or socially dominant; in other groups this relation is marked by complete equality, mutual deference, and full co-operation. This equality is practised not only in the matter of food-getting, but also in child bearing and child rearing. "Among the Arapesh," says Margaret Mead, "the violent man and the violent woman, among the Mundugumor the trustful, co-operative man and the trustful, co-operative woman are the deviants. Too much positive self-feeling predetermines one to maladjustment among the Arapesh; too much negative self-feeling is an equal liability among the Mundugumor."[2]

Conditioning Factors

Thus, primitive societies present the full gamut of human possibilities. It is important to note that each of these cultures, with its different attitudes, feeling-tones, and loyalties, is perpetuated by carefully designed educational systems, or taboos. The child is controlled—or burdened—by these almost from birth. Early taboos, and later initiations, reflect the general tone and values of the particular society. Attitudes toward pain, suicide, and homicide, among other notable examples, are carefully nurtured in the young. In some groups the very suckling process, weaning, and play are practised in a manner that serves to harden emotion and call forth hostility and cruelty. Initiation at puberty consists of inflicting pain by adults. At some period before puberty the boy is required to kill a member of an enemy tribe, an adult or a child. In these groups all adults treat the child gruffly, unsympathetically, and cruelly. Such are the foundations upon which the superstructure of a brutal morality is built.

The educational process in groups where sociality is the ideal and the way of life is very different from those just indicated. Feeding at the breast in these tribes is a joyful period for the mother and for the child. The latter is allowed to suckle almost indefinitely. Throughout this period the mother plays with him, pats and caresses him. The baby is made comfortable and warm, is given a feeling of complete security. Until he is quite grown up the child is not left alone. There is always an adult or an older child near by. Thus the individual from infancy develops attachments to people; he has faith in them and trusts them. Upon this foundation a socialized group culture is built.

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[2] *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies,* p. 292.

The treatment in infancy, however, is only the beginning. The entire life experience with parents, relatives, other children, and adults, is one of friendship. Initiation is not particularly painful, and whatever pain is involved is accepted without resentment, for those who have loved one so consistently would do it only for one's own good. Thus the *feeling tones* are built up. The life pattern is established and attitudes are generated. The totality of these produces what psychologists call the setting-of-the-will; but so different is it in various groups as to make any general statements concerning its universality in man unjustifiable and scientifically wrong. Aside from the basic drives common to all animals, such as race- and self-preservation, the need for activity, and the adjustments resulting from fear and aggression (themselves means of survival), "human nature" is an outcome of *cultural emphasis*.

Anthropology would seem to be more reliable than psychology for determining what man really is and what possibilities there are for his development. It seems clear that very little is immutable in man's nature. Modern psychology is not, as it is commonly supposed, a study of man independent of the conditions of his life, but rather a description of him as he interacts with his environment. Thus, a change in environment creates different needs for adjustment and sets in motion different elements of the personality. "Human nature" is the result of the adjustment of man to his cultural environment.

Although psychologists seem to place native drives, tendencies, needs, and "instincts" as primary in the creation of personality, studies indicate that there are very few constants in "human nature." Man is capable of myriads of responses. Those responses are dominant, generally speaking, that are called forth by psychological association as a result of group emphasis.[3] Primitive folk-lore, customs, attitudes, and values are further proof that human nature is almost entirely a balance between outer necessity and inner necessity. The former, on many occasions, is the stronger of the two forces, for the mental set of man is determined by external conditions. The setting-of-the-will of the average individual is almost entirely a product of the subtle and overt pressure from the group or culture. Ego-centered drives become prominent where the culture glorifies individual success. We have seen how in primitive society, where relations are kindly and education itself is based upon group service and mutual help, people become socially minded and friendly to one another. Self-centeredness is converted into group-centeredness. This is equally true of our own cultures.

Common opinion and descriptive psychology fall into the error of assuming that behavior and attitudes, because of their widespread existence in contemporary society, are inevitable. They are not only accepted but are even justified on biological and sociological grounds. Walter Duranty, in his *I Write As I Please,* is very much impressed by the social feeling and the sense of belonging that the Russian has. When an outstanding achievement is accomplished, such as a great rescue, a flight, or a construction, the Russian says: "*We* did this." Even in a country of over 160,000,000 people such an attitude can be inculcated. The existence of some characteristics in many countries, such as the desires for possession, power, and ostentation, leads us to jump to the conclusion that these are basic needs of man. Actually, the universal existence of these trends can be explained through cultural spread as a result of easy intercommunication among modern nations. Another explanation is that ideologies and values grow out of economic conditions and the cultural needs that follow them. Since the economic patterns were, until recently, so much alike in modern countries, habits, attitudes, and values as a result also became similar. Many characteristics that really grew out of external pressure are mistakenly attributed to the inherent nature of man.

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[3] It is true that there are always deviants in all stages of cultural development and in all groups and societies. These variants from what is considered normal present a problem to organized and constituted group life, and serve to emphasize the existence of group norms, which are an outcome of group emphasis.

Modern Education Looks at Primitive Society

Modern character education can draw some important lessons from primitive societies. In these societies experience is employed as the means for personality development and for making the individual fit into the group in which he lives. The cultural environment, both ideologically and in practice, is designed to evolve the type of person best fitted for life in the given culture. There exists no conflict between ideals and practice, as in modern society. The ideology of the latter extols social attitudes; practical needs and values, on the other hand, emphasize egoistic achievement and almost deify individual power and personal possessions. These conflicting principles confuse one. The growing boy or girl, for example, is at a loss to recognize the difference between dishonesty and good business. In education also, preaching and intent are so at variance with common practices that the child cannot but become confused and remain so throughout adult life. Orderly development of personality and of character demands consistency both in relation to adults and in the total outer world.

This leads us to a second lesson. The education of the primitive child for life in his group is accomplished through the process of participation. The young child is required at varying stages of his development to take part in the care of younger brothers and sisters, in definite child games, and in gardening, building, and hunting. Later, at puberty, he participates with his elders in their secret and public ceremonials, through which the specific culture of the tribe is perpetuated. He observes all the taboos imposed by the group.

Activity is a natural and basic need of all life. In it the organism is fully involved. Attention, therefore, is arrested and interests are aroused. Activity in evolved man, however, is not confined to neuro-muscular levels, as in lower animals. His needs extend to the intellectual, aesthetic, emotional, and social; and particularly to that aspect of activity that can be described as *inhibitive*. Human activity can be classified as positive and negative. External accomplishments and inner growth are an outcome of positive effort. Group life, however, requires that one's aggressive energies be controlled, in order that others in the group may be protected against his unbridled ego. This control has been described as "inhibitive will," i.e., the will that checks the individual himself as differentiated from the will directed against others. In a sense, the inhibitive will and self-control are the major attributes of character.

In primitive societies the inhibitive will or self-control was supplied by taboos, restrictions, and codes. The needs of the group, as far as curbing the individual was concerned, were guaranteed by these externally imposed restrictions. The group assured itself of its security against impetuosity of ego, temper, cruelty, or undue aggressiveness by carefully described and regulated behavior toward certain relatives, toward members of one's own and other age or sex groups, toward individuals of other related or enemy tribes. Ancestral spirits, evil genii, and mishaps were everywhere in the offing when regulations and taboos were ignored. Thus, conduct and even thought were externally dominated. In modern civilized society, with cities of large and mobile population, this does not work. Here individualism is rife. In the social, economic, and political organization of democratic countries personal behavior and inter-relations cannot be regulated quite so easily. Criminality "within the law" is not only possible but it is commonly practised under the guise of good business, political acumen, personal rights, or shrewdness. Laws deal only with major offences. But the good and the righteous life consists of little things not covered by laws.

To live and help others live such a life it is necessary that the "regulative principle" for constructive social and personal behavior be evolved within the personality itself. This regulative principle has two elements. One is that the individual must have a social "conscience"; the other, that he must desire to satisfy that conscience. This can be designated as *the social will.* The social will must on the positive side lead to social acts. Its negative side is shown when it checks the natural and childish egoism and cruelty in the individual. It is evident that the development of this social will in its aggressive and inhibitive aspects requires psychologic guidance and education. It must be noted, however, that the organization of personality resulting in this social will can evolve only through activity: by experiencing situations, by meeting problems, temptations, and difficulties and resolving them satisfactorily and effectively. This implies motor, emotional, intellectual activity in a group setting. Above all, however, the social will is developed through the influence of socially oriented adults such as parents, teachers, and group leaders.

Character education (and nearly all good education) occurs in a group. Whether we seek to impart information, to teach skills, to develop personality, or to train character, we do so largely in groups. The family, the classroom, the gang, the club, a mass meeting are examples. Here the group itself is the educational instrumentality. In group education the interaction of personalities, emotional conflicts and harmonies, mutual identifications, and learning to live together through realistic and actual experiences constitute, among others, the educational situations; thus, *the members of the group itself are the pupils, the educators, and the educational material functioning in an active relationship.*[4]

The responsibility of the modern parent and educator is to develop the social will and a "regulative principle" of life. The interdependence of man in contemporary society makes it essential that individuals be oriented toward social responsiveness and responsibilities. Modern society, because of its fluidity, cumbersomeness, and complexity, can no longer proscribe behavior by a myriad of regulations, taboos, and superstitions. It must rely upon individual social impulsion, which is *character.*

CHARACTER AND EXPERIENCE

Within the limits of the individual's original trends and capacities, character must be conceived as a product of his interactions with his environment. It is not attained by ethical and moral concepts, preachment, nor even by example and imitation. Character is rather the outcome of the dynamics of mental life. Phantasy and play, purpose and ambitions, thought and knowledge, social attitudes and feelings—all are a part of the complex that produces the character of the individual. An imperative need of man—nay, of all animal and even plant life—is to establish harmony with environment. Very often man, instead of creating this desired harmony, sets up discord. His inner needs are dual; or, more precisely, ambivalent. They are positive and negative; they operate as a double thrust.

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[4] We offer this as a definition of "group work."

The inner need for these conflicting reactions is usually aroused by early childhood experiences in the family setting. Life, especially mental life, presents many disharmonies, one of which is the need for self-punishment and of inflicting pain upon oneself. These tendencies are known as masochism, the opposite of which is sadism or cruelty to others. The self-torturing and self-debasing behavior arises in many instances from guilt feelings, or pangs of conscience. Most often these feeling-tones are purely unconscious. Both the reason for the guilt as well as the neurotic forms that it takes are hidden from the individual; but they color the entire personality and determine behavior and response. Needs for survival also influence the direction and the quality of character development. Character becomes more complex and often defective where individuals and groups live in conditions of uncertainty and anxiety. Where the struggle for economic security, status, and recognition is keen, certain personality traits required for this struggle are bound to become intensified. In a culture where relations are easily established and where the atmosphere is placid, character is quite different.

Character, too, will carry the imprint of the abundance of or lack of affection, both in the family and in the larger world; of comforting social acceptance or of rejection. The exploitive interests and competitive drives of various groups in a society—employers and workers, sellers and buyers, owners and tenants—leave their stamp not only upon the character of these groups, but also *upon every individual of the community*. The atmosphere and attitudes that these relationships create become intertwined in the fiber of the entire personality. Values, ambitions, drives, purposing, manners and graces—in short, the organization-of-the-will and the pattern of life itself—absorb and reflect group attitudes and group patterns. Thus, the development of neurotic traits and divergent behavior is not due entirely to unsatisfactory home relations, but must be attributed to the effect of the total cultural pattern. This pattern influences the individual directly. It also determines the relations in the family itself and the emotional and intellectual atmosphere of this most influential group. Some of the factors that affect character directly or indirectly are poverty; economic anxiety; exploitive attitudes toward their children by parents who have designs on them to grow rich or powerful, prominent, and influential; unsuitable health conditions; undesirable moral influences; over-large families, with resultant over-strenuous responsibilities. These and many other matters, rooted in the civilization and culture of the outer world, inevitably permeate family life and the character structure of the individual.[5]

Among the more direct influences emanating from the larger culture are the repressive *mores,* taboos, and inhibitions evolved by society in order that the individual may be kept to his social moorings. The eternal conflict between the anarchic strivings of the instincts and the realistic needs of society to assure its own survival has created many problems. The extent and degree of the inhibitions and repressions set up by this conflict between the group and its members greatly affect personality. Intense restraints rigidly applied to the more fundamental biologic and ego drives are likely to distort the personality quite seriously. A good education prevents too rapid imposition upon the child of the demands of civilization, and seeks to apply these restraints gradually and selectively to accord with age, development, and individual differences.

THE TYRANNY OF CONSCIENCE

Although "conscience" and a "sense of justice" are primary needs of group life, education must beware of arousing a sense of guilt and consequent anxiety while these are being inculcated. If the child's "conscience" is aroused in an atmosphere of anxiety, as through excessive fear, it may turn back upon itself and cause shiftlessness and even criminality. Strangely enough, many delinquents and criminals have been found to use a criminal act as an escape from the tyranny of their own over-strict consciences.

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[5] An impressive example of the influence of the larger culture has been recently noted by Heber J. Grant, president of the Mormon Church. Despite the training in industriousness and frugality in the homes and by the church, the latter found it "impossible to persuade many of the members to resist the temptation to lean on the government," i.e., accept relief. Thus the very thing that that church and the homes feared and sought to forestall had come to pass, according to Mr. Grant: namely, undermining the initiative and spirit of self-reliance that characterized Brigham Young's band of pioneers.

Another notable instance is the break-up of the traditions of the Doukhobors, a hardy, fanatical, and abstemious group of emigrants from Russia, who lived in colonies in Canada. Until the coming of the automobile, movies, and other such temptations, the young of each generation continued rigid adherence to their precepts. Recent years have witnessed a mass movement to the cities and a general break-down in morale.

Such persons have had their impulses strongly repressed, and must resolve the struggle between these impulses and the repressive sanctions by being punished. Punishment balances the account with conscience.

It must be kept in mind that conscience is a mechanism of group control and, as such, is desirable and necessary. It is a result of group taboos that the individual has absorbed into his psychological structure, i.e., internalized taboos. The child absorbs, so to speak, feelings of right and wrong from the people around him. At first, the parents are symbols of social control. Later, other persons, groups, and institutions tend to inhibit the child's uncontrolled and selfish behavior. The basic need of man to be accepted by other individuals and by the group (collective impulse) makes one submit to the group will. Disapproval arouses a feeling of being rejected; and, to prevent this emotional or physical ostracism, the child accepts the group's standards, deeply repressing his own impulses. The baffling difference in attitudes, values, and behavior that one finds among the individuals in different cultures and in different sub-groupings of the same culture, such as nationality groups, results from the difference in cultural emphasis. The individual takes on the manners, the patterns, and feeling-tones toward essential institutions and practices from those about him. This is in exchange for being accepted and for being allowed to participate. Thus originate variations in "human nature."

In a more inclusive discussion of character formation one must not fall into the error of some contemporary psychologists, who stop short at the infantile sources of character origins. This school of thought holds that the conditions that determine human personality are exclusively the experiences of infancy and childhood and of the relations within the family. Although the basic structure of the psychological edifice of the personality undoubtedly is founded upon these early experiences, later experiences and socially induced values play an equally important rôle. As already indicated, the need for acceptance and recognition sets up desires, strivings, and behavior that will assure this acceptance by society. The average individual is willing to pay the price. If recognition can be attained through material possessions, or through acts of heroism, cunning, or power, character will correspond. The average person will develop traits, attitudes, and characteristics that will make him acceptable. It is thus that the social complexion of cities, nations, and even continents is determined. The basic differences between the character of the Oriental and Occidental grow out of the difference in their social needs. The life of the one reposes in the ancestral past; of the other, in aggressive conquest. Such outer and inner needs give these two contrasting individuals equally varying personality characteristics, and determine their sense of values in life and in death.[6]

Words Are Impotent

The group, however, fails to recognize the influence of the subtle cultural forces upon character. It tends to fall back upon the spoken word and formulated principles. The teaching of precepts and moralizing are the conscious means for inculcating criteria of behavior and beliefs. Actually, the most potent influence in determining character and emotional (and therefore intellectual) attitudes is the unconscious accommodation of the individual to the family and to other groups, i.e., to the *cultural matrix*. This un-rational process is overlooked by the average person and even by some educators and sociologists. Group life is considered a purely mechanical process, and the individual's acceptance of it as entirely conscious. Actually, however, it is the individual's accommodation of his impulses to the social pattern and the manner in which this occurs that are vastly more important to the formation of character than are codes or reasons.

The conquest of the child's aggression is a good illustration of this point. One of the early impulses of the young child is to attack everything in his environment. He bites, he pinches, he tugs at, kicks, pulls, takes to pieces. This aggressiveness is a primary need of man (as well as of lower animals) in his struggle for survival. However, these original aggressive impulses may take a hostile turn, or they may be directed toward constructive channels. Aggressiveness may become the dominant and exclusive drive in one's life, or it may be only one of the many means employed in special situations.

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[6] We are at present witnessing a most important phenomenon in the development of social and group psychology. Japan, which has been under the leadership of European "experts" for the last few generations and has educated its leading men in Europe and America, has assumed the military and diplomatic aggressiveness of the latter countries. This has led to "Occidentalizing" many of its citizens, especially those in positions of power and leadership. Such a spirit gradually infiltrates into the general population.

An educative philosophy and practice that employ rationalization and precept do not accord with the basic nature of man and with the needs of man's nature. Not only do ideals that are in conflict with actuality confuse the child, but, what is even more serious, they engender a feeling of guilt. An education that puts the child into such a conflict causes pain and anguish, and in some cases disaster. The aim of education in the home and in other agencies designed more directly for the upbringing of the young is rather to aid adjustment and to prevent conflict and disharmony. Teachings that tend to increase disharmony do not make for mental health. Rather than exerting direct control and censure, the group should seek to release, guide, and restrain, through indirect influences, by creating a desirable group life and healthful group relations.

It is one thing in character education to advise and to preach, and another to create dispositions toward socially constructive behavior. The first is surface appeal; it is effective only when appropriate emotional attitudes exist. If the organization of the will is opposed to prevailing moral concepts, the individual will usually follow the course of the former. To create dispositions toward socially motivated behavior it is necessary to reach the roots of personality. Children's dispositions often arise from their identifying themselves with adults, usually their parents. But the group patterns and attitudes are equally important. In fact, they are even more important as the individual grows older and his social tendencies grow more emphatic. As the child's self-centeredness gives way to social trends, he increasingly takes on group values and *mores*. Integration with the group is the price one pays for being accepted. The need for participation can be met by submerging one's less altruistic characteristics. In order that we may merge with the body politic, we must *sub*merge some parts of our personality. We tend to discard or minimize impulses and practices not approved by the group, and to emphasize those that our culture sanctions and promotes. We frequently find in complex societies anomalous situations. What is criminal and reprehensible at one period is noble and excellent at another. Frequently, acts prohibited by one group are extolled by another.

MICRO-CULTURES IN PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

The *mores* and values of sub-groups in a larger cultural complex we shall call *micro-cultures;* those of the larger world, *macro-culture.*

The first micro-culture to which the child is exposed is that of the family. It is here that the feeling-tones and the basic attitudes are established. Does the child live in an atmosphere of strife or harmony? Were his biologic impulses and his phantasies treated with regard, or was he rudely repressed, frustrated, or "shamed" because of them? Did the child have to struggle for recognition and love, or were they given to him freely and normally? Did he have to live in a state of rivalry with other children in the family or did he easily find his rightful place in that group? Did the parents and other influential members in the family group transmit to the child equanimity or anxiety, fear or courage? Did the parents accept, pamper, reject, exploit, or deprive him? Was the atmosphere in the home one of deprivation and denial generally? Did he receive proper physical nourishment? Questions of this kind must be investigated in any study of character origins, for such conditions determine the complexion of personality.

As already pointed out, contemporary psychology and psychiatry tend to emphasize early influences as the determinants of personality to the exclusion of other factors. Important as these are, however, relations that an individual must of necessity work out during the various stages of growth color personality and character with almost equal vividness. Unsatisfactory relations with contemporaries, which is a very important form of social acceptance, may be the cause of social disorientation, though active conflict with playmates and groups undoubtedly has its roots in improper family experiences.

A few of the most typical other causes of this type of maladjustment are suggested by the following questions. Do proper opportunities for child-group life, such as siblings, a nursery and kindergarten, exist? Does the child have the advantage of children suitable to his special interests and temperament? Do physical facilities exist for meeting and making friends, such as street, homes, neighborhood center? Do leisure-time experiences counteract the quiet and restraining atmosphere of the home, or is the child through his association with the only available friends in the street spurred on to destructive, anti-social behavior? Can he find outlets for constructive interests easily? Did culture-conflicts exist in the home and with playmates, such as those arising from race, religion, or color? Above all, we must find out what the primary codes of the age-groups were, and what social attitudes they engendered.

Then there is the question of school adjustment. Has the school nurtured the child's native interests and given expression to his gifts and talents, or has it rather repressed them for less vital and less meaningful occupations and learnings? Has the curriculum been adjusted to meet the needs and to stimulate the child's power, or has it been such that he felt frustrated and therefore became resentful? Did the school engender in the child a sense of failure and a feeling of social debasement because some physical or mental handicap caused backwardness in learning or performance? Or has the school sought to emphasize all the positive aspects of personality and striven to give its pupils a sense of success, self-esteem, and self-worth?

The functions of the teacher and club leader are of vital importance in developing social attitudes and types of group behavior. They are in the child's mind parent-substitutes as well as symbols of authority of the macro-culture. As such, they play a rôle in character development that hitherto has been insufficiently recognized. Rejection and hostility from them are only second in poignancy to those from a parent. The child quickly responds to the emotional states and to the attitudes of these adults, especially so because they constitute a threat to his standing in a group of peers, whose acceptance and approval he craves. It is true, if trite, that many character distortions either originate or are quite definitely intensified through schools.

At the same time that the child is making his adjustment to school and devoting himself to the tasks assigned in the classroom, other groups claim his attention. These are the voluntary groups of children of his own age. Through these groups, gangs, or clubs, important modifications in the personality take place, and the youth discovers the conditions under which the world will accept him. The dynamics that take place in any group situation furnish the motive power for integration with the group and for group action. We anticipate later discussions of these topics by the assertion that if the school, groups, and clubs are to be of greatest value in character training, they must be free and informal, with a maximum possibility for personality interaction and interpenetration among children and adults.

The voluntary one-sex group, such as the club or gang, have two major values to personality development. First, such a group continues the process of becoming at one with other people, which was begun in the family. Its importance, however, lies in the fact that these identifications take the direction away from the family. Although this process will be discussed more fully in Chapter V, we must note at this point that it socializes the child. Through this enlarged circle of people the child becomes prepared to participate in the work of the larger world. The second value of informal unisexual groups lies in the reinforcement of one's biological destiny. The boy must test out his masculinity in groups of boys. He must be convinced of his powers, of his aggressiveness, and of his ability to take his place among them on their own level.

Next to the unisexual group in point of developmental hegemony is the heterosexual group. During adolescence the youth seeks association with members of the opposite sex. In the early stages of this seeking for heterosexual association, it occurs in group, rather than on an individual basis. The approach to a girl is made by a boy when he is in company of other boys. The same is true of girls. They, too, will stop to talk to a boy when they are in the company of one or more other girls. It is as if these youngsters draw from members of their own sex-group security and assurance before they muster sufficient courage to choose individual friends. This courage is evolved through practice, as it were. The function of this adjustment is to continue the sexual reassurance begun in the one-sex group; but the field of operation moves to the two-sex level.

This upward development is indicative of an increased psychological growth. It extends the focus of interest from the self and the *like-oneself* to the unlike. It also aids to diminish the ego-centric trends by redirecting energies and interests into wider spheres than heretofore. Self-love is further displaced by object-love. The sociological significance of this trend lies in the fact that this heterosexual adjustment aids race survival and social continuity. It is thus clear that heterosexual groups are important as factors in wholesome and integral development of the total personality, and must be included in an enlightened practice of formal and informal education.

Having made this heterosexual adjustment, and often in the very midst of it, or because of it, the youth launches upon the quest for an occupation. Just as he had tried himself in the past with the other narrower groups and found himself either adequate or wanting, he tests his power in this new endeavor. He looks for a job and attempts to establish himself in the community on this basis as well. The success or failure in this direction is of extreme importance to personality development. It is not necessary at this point to emphasize the obvious fact that a satisfying occupation successfully discharged is an essential to personal happiness and constructive social participation. Nor do we need to discuss at length the equally evident fact that success here gives the very much needed economic security that is in modern culture a prime essential for serenity and happiness.

To fail in the realm of occupational efforts threatens the survival needs on the biological levels such as actual food-getting, sexual gratification, and race perpetuation through parenthood. The failure here, however, has even deeper and more direct meanings to man's psyche. The jobless person feels that he has failed to meet the culturally set group standards, and he becomes conscious of a social inadequacy on his part. A sense of defeat sets in and the ego suffers, with all the consequent evil. In some primitive competitive societies this resulted in compulsory suicide. In modern times under such circumstances, one feels himself a failure in respect to the earning groups of the community; that he is rejected by them. And in view of the fact that in industrial societies, where the tools through which one secures race and personal survival are in the control of another class (the owning class), finding and keeping a job become a particularly important social concern.

Studies indicate a striking diminution in personal power among the jobless. One such study concerned itself with scholastic achievement in two groups of workers, the members of one of which were unemployed, while those of the other group were gainfully occupied. Although the groups were intellectually equated by standard tests, the employed group made high grades while all of the unemployed failed in the final examinations. It was of this group that the Master of the college at Oxford University in whose extension department this study was made said "Jobless men are only ghosts of their real selves."

Further, once an occupation is learned and a job is obtained, there is a need to acquire status here as in all other antecedent groups. One wants to be recognized as a fast, a thorough, or a reliable worker. He strives to make a contribution, to show originality, and the like. That is, in all cases and whatever the occupation, there is a striving to gain a place or status in that group.

The needs for social acceptance are further sought by individuals in the various voluntary groups that each one of us, especially in urban communities, joins. Joining groups may be an expression of the primary collective tendencies, gregariousness, present in lower animals as well as in man. In the latter, we can recognize other psychological strivings being evidenced in group formation such as the needs of aggression, response, acceptance. The groups that adults join as a part of leisure-time occupation are organized around religion, politics, professions, trades, special interests, and intellectual and social pursuits.

Finally, we reach a point in the group life of members in modern society that was also our starting point; namely, the family—only the functions here are reversed. The founding and supporting of a family was the major objective of every normal person until recently. Under the conditions of present-day life, this cannot be regarded as a desirable aim for an ever-increasing number in our population. However, this situation should be viewed as one of the major symptoms in our social pathology. Parenthood is a biologic need. It is, as well, a social duty. But it is also a psychological necessity. The average person acquires a maximal sense of social responsibility through the awareness of the needs of his children. The world becomes a place in which children do and will live. There arises, therefore, a heightened interest in the environment, which, under proper guidance, can be easily converted into social idealism. The relation of a parent, especially of a mother, to the offspring is one of love in its purest and most unselfish form. Parenthood seems, in deeper psychologic terms, to be one of the most socializing of all group experiences. The disposition of selflessness of most parents toward their children indeed defies all our known laws and theories of ego-survival and ego-centricity. The readiness with which parents give up essential needs for their children's welfare can be explained only in terms of self-perpetuation. It is quite possible that the parent sees in his child the extension of his own personality, and that through the child he continues living after death.

Some psychologists believe that artists and writers make such effort and sacrifice because in their work they hope to live after they cease to be alive. There is undoubtedly an element of the same feeling in parenthood. Certainly, if we observe carefully some of the parental attitudes, there seem to be some grounds for this contention. It is a well-known fact that almost all parents attempt to fashion their children according to their own wishes. They consciously or unconsciously impose their views and manners upon their offspring, and are impatient with deviations from them. This attitude assures to a definite extent social continuity; but to the parents it is also a source of gratification and joy. They see themselves reflected in their children.

The self-perpetuating motive is even more apparent where the parents use the children as a means for realizing some of the repressed or unfulfilled strivings in their own lives. Although such exploitive attitudes are detrimental to the child, they reveal the subsurface content in the child-parent relations. They also throw some light upon the contribution of parenthood to personality development.

The major functions of the various groups to psychological development of personality can be expressed in tabular form. We must re-emphasize the fact, however, that the "contributions" listed are not the sole, but rather the major values.

Several outstanding facts appear as one studies this Table. First, there is throughout the underlying motive of acceptance. Beginning with the family and down the list, the imperative striving is to function successfully in these various groups and to be accepted by them. The second important point is that the trend in these group influences is to socialize the personality from its original self-loving or self-centered stages to include others in one's responsiveness, awareness, and considerations—at first on an unconscious level and later as a part of one's philosophy of life.

A third, and perhaps even more interesting, observation one can make on the basis of this Table, is that Groups 1 to 5 (the family, the nursery or play, school, one-sex, and heterosexual groups) are consciously designed by society for the education of its young. The remaining ones (occupational, adult voluntary, and the later family groups) are those that the individual finds as they are and to which he must make his adjustment solely through his own initiative and effort. The adjustment to the first five is mediated and helped by adults as a part of education. The latter impose their own laws and demands. The first five groups we designate as micro-cultures—the smaller cultures aimed to serve as preparations for or transitions to the culture of the larger world, which we designate the macro-culture.[7]

TABLE SHOWING THE MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS OF SUCCESSIVE GROUPS TO PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

NO.	GROUP	MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS
1	Family	Acceptance and unconditioned love
2	Nursery or play group	Social experimentation (socialization)
3	School	Creative-dynamic expression
4	One-sex groups	Identification (socialization); sexual reassurance
5	Heterosexual groups	Heterosexual adjustment
6	Occupational groups	Social adequacy; economic security
7	Adult voluntary groups	Social acceptance (socialization)
8	Family	Mating; parenthood; self-perpetuation

WHAT IS "ORDERLY DEVELOPMENT"?

Each micro-cultural group differs in accordance with the age of the child, and his social and cultural background, as well as in other respects. The specific characteristics of these groups constitute what may be termed the *primary group codes.* Strivings, attitudes, hostilities, values, and behavior, are more or less characteristic of each micro-culture. In orderly development each micro-culture is sloughed off as it emerges into the succeeding one. Behavior and values suitable to one period frequently have no place in another. The adolescent's play and work are in almost every respect different from those of the young child. Similarly, what is acceptable in an adolescent is often intolerable in an adult. Actually, however, the demarcations among the various micro-cultures and the macro-culture are less distinct. In numerous ways they interpenetrate and leave their traces in the adult. These vestiges help to confuse the picture of the personality. The more confused the picture is, the less orderly has been development. This disorder is largely in the emotions, and frequently causes serious problems. Many such individuals require intensive psychotherapy before they can function satisfactorily and effectively.

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[7] The material on pp. 38-43 was presented before the National Conference of Social Work in a paper entitled "The Group in Development and in Therapy," and has appeared in its Proceedings of the 1938 Conference, pp. 339-349.

Development, then, is orderly when, on leaving each micro-cultural stage, the individual has sloughed off the physical, emotional, intellectual, and social characteristics of that stage, making room for the next progressive step in growth, until maturity is reached. As already stated, in life such idealized conditions are only approximated. Every individual is psychologically heterogeneous: he is an admixture of infant, adolescent, and adult. To a very considerable extent, the dominance of specific elements in development determines the pattern of life, of character, and of group adjustment.

The family lays the basis for wholesome and dynamic integration with the group (society) that is essential to social development and to individual survival. This occurs, however, when the family loyalties, dependencies, and attachments (the first micro-culture) are gradually loosed and are extended or projected into other groups (successive micro-cultures), finally reaching the larger body politic and extra-national concerns as well (macro-culture). Orderly growth means, by and large, that the various elements that make up personality are adequately *developed in relation to each other as well as in relation to the particular culture appropriate to the stage in growth.* Excessive disharmony in development[8] interferes with function, because response and effort are blocked or dispersed. What is meant here is somewhat as follows. An individual may be able to comprehend a situation intellectually, but if he is emotionally underdeveloped his reaction and response to it will be under-mature. Intensity of emotion in such a situation may (a) block or diminish intellectual powers, or (b) cause one to react in accord with his emotions rather than with the external facts. The situation may be further complicated by a number of other elements, such as power of performance. Even when one faces a problem adequately on the intellectual and emotional levels, his lack of social or technical skills and experience may cause an unsatisfactory or inadequate resolution of the problem.

One of the chief aims of education, therefore, is to diminish as far as possible native or imposed differentials in development, and thus prevent what is commonly termed lopsidedness. We must rather seek an equalized and integrated response such as is found in a fully developed person. This type of education would consist of numberless experiences, situations, learnings, and interests that open an equally large number of avenues of possibilities and further experiences. Evidently an education that emphasizes individual effort in isolation from others, as practised by the old school, is unequal to the task. Although creative work, such as that in the arts and the sciences, which requires withdrawal from the group, is necessary to individual happiness and inner peace, its meaning and value lie in group recognition and in social use. Behind all such work there is conscious or unconscious social motivation. The painter's picture, the sculptor's statue, the writer's book, and the musician's composition are intended for the gaze or hearing of others. The public may be large, or it may consist of only a few friends—or even one friend; but group response is the motivating force behind creative and learning effort. The need for acceptance (recognition, approval, approbation, or whatever name may be given it) by the group serves as a mainspring for human endeavor.[9] One must participate with others in order to attain self-fulfilment; and where the need or the ability to participate is lacking, there may ensue serious distortions of the personality.

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[8] To illustrate what is meant here, the following clinical picture of a boy is given: chronological age, 13.11; arithmetic age, 10.5; social age, 15; mechanical age, 19. Reading, first grade; arithmetic, fifth grade; social development, tenth grade; mechanical ability, adult.

THE FLIGHT FROM MATURITY

Now, in many modern countries the emphasis upon any given micro-culture in the development of its citizens reflects itself in the political and social life of those countries. Where family loyalties are emphasized, moral codes, attitudes, and relationships spring directly from that emphasis. In such cultures early childhood dependencies and loyalties are continued for longer periods than in communities where the family does not play so important a rôle. Parents, especially the father, retain authority over the lives of even adult offspring. As a result, this authoritarian attitude is reflected also in the church, and in the sovereign or king. Oligarchies are dominant in countries where the parental authority, i.e., infantile micro-culture, is strong and lasting. The regard and the need for authority becomes ingrained in the individual citizen, who remains on a level of infantile dependence.[10] It is in these countries also that dictatorships and fascism can take root. Interestingly enough, in Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries the family ties are less intense than in most Latin nations. The former have also separated or weakened the ties between the church and the state, and have instituted limited monarchies or have entirely eliminated them.[11] We are at present witnessing trends toward a return to primitive tribalism. Although their roots are economic, these loyalties, psychologically considered, are nothing more than extensions and intensifications of family patterns. And, significantly enough, this return to barbarism has occurred in countries where parental and governmental authority has for centuries been very strong. The appeal to the masses is made on the basis of national loyalty. Ambitions for conquest by the nation in question, territorial expansion, national glory, and world recognition are emphasized and employed to stimulate national aggression. The ambitions that a father holds out to his family for its grandeur—family pride—are here extended to the members of a nation. The basic nature of the appeal by leaders and the response by the masses are in every respect the same as in the family group—national pride. Thus we see how the family group can serve as a negative as well as a positive influence in development of personality and character.

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[9] We must note in this connection that this need originates in childhood; and, where the child was not accepted, the striving for acceptance by the larger world may become the major motive of his adult life.

[10] A most convincing occurrence of the effect of authority in curtailing initiative and self-reliance was supplied by the United States air force several years ago, when the government attempted to use that branch of its army for mail delivery. The fatalities of the military pilots in mail service were very high and aroused popular consternation. The plan had to be abandoned. A commission set up to investigate the reason for the high frequency of mishaps that are comparatively rare among commercial mail pilots found that the military fliers are trained to follow a squadron leader, and are therefore unable to fly on their own with safety.

[11] The statements in this paragraph are considered only *generally* and not precisely true. National cultural development occurs along the lines indicated *by and large*. Actually, many inconsistencies and incongruities exist in countries because potent forces often operate to retain outlived forms, and because of automatic cultural spread.

The undeveloped individual too readily succumbs to the group rules and demands. He does not evolve within himself the foundations for democratic living. He rather swallows all he is told, hook, line, and sinker; and conforms. This attitude leads to blind sectarianism and mass-mindedness. It also breeds intolerance and cruelty to all who do not happen to be members of the same cultural, national, racial, or religious group.

Such unreasoned attachments represent largely an escape from mental effort to think through and to examine the criteria for living. Instead of these criteria, existing traditions and codes are accepted without question. In a real sense, the individual in this case shifts his responsibilities to some group, sect, or party. He renounces his right to self-determination and his privilege to act as a thinking being. He escapes from these responsibilities, shifting them to an outside authority. This is characteristically the attitude of the child. In an adult it can be described as a desire to flee from maturity.

Escape into the Group

On the other hand, to submerge the individual entirely in the group leads to disintegration of personality and arrests human progress generally. Careful discrimination and precise definition of terms and ideas are essential, however, before any broad principles can be set forth on this point. Complete fusion of the individual with society implies renunciation of the compelling desire for self-determination. According to some schools of psychology, this imperative need may originate in infancy. We know that self-determination must be reckoned with. We must recognize the areas where submergence of the individual in the group is good and where it is undesirable. In a social regime, for example, where complete conformity to the group is imposed, as in primitive societies, little possibility exists for group development or for individual growth. Essentially, innovation and creativity are a result of rebellion—the rebellion of some individual against what already exists and is accepted. Although this is not always recognized, a departure from tradition is rebellion. Only when it threatens powerful forces, when constituted and vested interests are aroused to fight for their survival, is it called by that name. Actually, human progress is achieved through departures from accepted forms. Scientists and technicians, artists and mechanics, educators and accountants become from time to time dissatisfied with theory or results in their fields and devise new methods and processes. In the social sciences and in governmental practice, changes are constantly being made or suggested; for the very nature of group action is creative. When the changes suggested, however, menace the interests and security of the powerful few, a reaction is set up.

"Sound moral development," says Pflügel, "is characterized by an ever-increasing degree of autonomy in place of heteronomy, which distinguished the immature and, to some extent, the primitive mind generally." This author considers that growth of personality involves the acquisition of "inner sanctions" as differentiated from "external sanctions," upon which the child depends so much in his early life; for "the successful development of mind and character must demand a gradually increasing degree of autonomy as regards both thought and conduct, as capabilities mature and experience widens."[12] One of the major functions of education is to help the transition inherent to development and maturity. It must encourage self-determination within a group setting rather than escaping into the group for protection.

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[12] Pflügel, J. C., *A Psychoanalytical Study of the Family*. London: Hogarth Press, 1926, p. 44.

THE MENACE OF MASS-MINDEDNESS

Complete abdication of the majesty of the individual in favor of the group leads to weakness in character and lack of spiritual autonomy. That in turn leads to *mass-mindedness* as differentiated from *social-mindedness.*

A mass-minded person is one who has not evolved the faculty for thinking through without bias the elements in a situation, and who lacks the power to act on conviction. He is the person who, instead of seeking within himself the resolution of problems, looks to codes, attitudes, and prejudices of the mass. By these he trims his mental sails. The mass-minded individual is the barometer, the weathervane of popular hostility and sentimentality, of traditional values and prevailing views. He is a mirror in which the group finds its exact image. He does not evaluate as he fully adopts, and responds to, existing mob impulse. His intellect functions by imitation; his emotions thrive on contagion and suggestion. He is an easy victim of group hypnosis, and his feelings easily reach a high pitch under group stimulation. The mass-minded person glories in the commonplace, and his speech is platitude and cant. He identifies himself with the powerful; for his infantile self-regard is enhanced by the reflection of others. He is a spiritual toddler, who needs propping up by others, although when walking thus aided he feels that he is accomplishing the feat through his own strength.

There is only a short distance between the mass-minded person and the mobster. Because he lacks self-determination and has not examined his criteria, he readily yields to suggestion and accommodates his inner life to those of others. He is an adopter, not an accepter. The former takes on the attitudes, speech, and values of those around him with little or no reflection; the latter must first weigh, understand, and accept before he can make the convictions of others, or of society, his own. Because he is infantile and has not developed within himself the restraints that mark the adult, the mass-minded person is given to heightened emotion and intense reactions. He is easily led and therefore as easily misled.

Social-mindedness, on the other hand, does not arise from a too ready response to group pressure. It is rather an outcome of a deep-rooted feeling for others founded upon true sympathy.

The socially minded person feels for society as a parent does for his child: he wishes its well-being even at his own sacrifice. He adapts himself to group situations not because he thus finds his own security, as the mass-minded person does, but because through such adaptation he desires to help and to comfort. The socially minded individual is one whose entire disposition is oriented toward social responsiveness and social responsibility. He is integrated with the group. His values of life and his mode of conduct are ever permeated with considerations for other people's happiness, group needs, social welfare, and improvement. Such a person has, in addition to his emotional attachments to society, also definite ideas and values, and a philosophy of life, that fuse him with the group. To a truly socially minded individual there cannot be individual success and achievement without social benefit. The two are inseparable.

Conviction is a common characteristic of the socially minded: conviction based on thought, study, and observation. Although he is emotionally and intellectually involved in social affairs, his maturity makes him detached. He is able to weigh and evaluate, to make decisions, and to act in accordance with conviction. Although he has definite orientations that are of necessity biased, he retains his objectivity within the limits of that bias. He is not the blind and unreasoning follower who submerges his identity, his will, and his ideas to mass pressure. He is, rather, the individual who, in spite of his definite social motivations, is thoughtful and discriminating. He acts upon forethought, plan, and reasoned criteria.

The difference between mass-mindedness and social-mindedness arises largely, though not altogether, from educational influences. It is not difficult to recognize in the former the attributes of the immature. It is equally easy to discern in the socially minded the characteristics of maturity. In the mass-minded person primary group codes are dominant. Psychologically he is in the gang stage, which is normal to puberty and early adolescence. At this stage the submergence of the personality and blind conformity to the group are normal and desirable, because through them the individual is socialized. But in orderly development, the individual emerges from this phase independent and self-reliant. If, for any reason, growth becomes arrested at this level, mass-mindedness is the result.

The socially minded person has outlived the various micro-cultures and has emerged developed and ready to take his place in the larger culture of the world, the macro-culture. He has sloughed off the earlier stages of development; this the mass-minded person has failed to do. In a word, the mass-minded person submerges himself in the group; the socially minded one merges with the group.

The mature person makes adjustments in accordance with values and importances: i.e., he conforms in those respects that are of secondary importance and maintains his position on matters that are meaningful to him. To strike this balance, one needs to have emotional stability and an adequate philosophy of life.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION FOR A DYNAMIC SOCIETY

The Meeting Ground of Formal and Informal Education

There are still persons who fall into the error of confusing schooling with education, learning with development. Schooling emphasizes acquiring information and mastering skills; education concerns itself with man's function in the world and with the growth of inner power. Education, as modernly conceived, is a living process in the setting of the complex world of today. As such, it includes schooling and learnings; but it does not consist solely of them. Traditional "educational" objectives and methods are nothing more than schooling. This difference is very important, particularly in the light of current events. To have information is not enough for a life in this confusing world. Of even greater importance is it to understand the laws and forces behind these baffling times. There is also need to take stock of one's own inner values in relation to these events. Ordinary schooling will be of little avail here. Education, as we see it in its dynamic meaning, must therefore re-evaluate its mission and its process.

Surely the degeneration of an increasing number among the populations of the world, as shown by delinquency, crime, gangsterism, war, mob-psychology, mass-brutality, is serious enough to turn our thoughts toward possible remedies. Although education cannot combat the culture pattern entirely, it is reasonable that we should turn to it for whatever help it can give. We must be aware, however, that the major causes of our cultural disorientation lie in altogether different fields—in the economic and social disharmonies of a profit-motivated society.

Thoughtful persons recognize that even such a far-reaching institution as education can be only partly effective. The rapid return to barbarism (though it be a mechanized barbarism) is caused by greater forces than education can control. Masses act from necessity and not from choice. When ideals and necessity meet in a head-on collision, necessity is almost sure to emerge the victor. True, there are a few persons who make the choice of the less advantageous path to follow their convictions; the majority, however, are susceptible to emotional contagion, and in their fear succumb to the more immediate solutions to their problems.

In discussing the concept of necessity, we must recognize the existence of inner as well as outer necessities. Individuals or groups may follow the path of inner necessity and ignore cultural and economic pressure. These are the idealists, the martyrs. Frequently, people with intense convictions may fight a seemingly losing battle, but in the long course of events they may prove to be precursors of new eras. Whether the socially minded progressive educator is aware of it or not, what he is doing establishes definite states of inner necessity among his charges that will resist the hostile, destructive trends of contemporary culture. His work is, in the true sense of the word, an inoculation against the germ of mass-mindedness. This he does by building up in the child through indirect methods the will for self-determination, a clear vision, and an aggressive intellect. The modern educator places constructive attitudes above scholastic achievement, and a social will above a retentive memory.

We have been witnessing in the past few decades definite changes in our educational practices. The easing up on the repressive methods in schools, the extension of the curriculum to meet bio-psychologic needs of pupils, socially centered subject matter, emphasis upon desirable teacher-pupil relations, awareness of mental health, are among the leading indications of the new trend. At the same time, informal educational agencies—clubs, "Y's," neighborhood centers, and settlements—have widened and intensified their scope in the same directions. These important leisure-time educational institutions have also expanded their work from the time-filling "recreational" efforts to include activities that make for greater social awareness. They, too, stress occupations enlisting hand and mind; they emphasize the importance of interaction, of group interests, of social-mindedness. Club programs, discussion forums, and lectures deal to an increasing extent with definite content that in many respects resembles that of the curriculum in better schools. They guide the young people who come under their influence to participate in community work and to serve as constructive instruments in the improvement of life. Thus, the objectives of formal and informal education are meeting on a common ground, giving the child more consistent and therefore more effective intellectual, emotional, and social guidance than ever before. Both are becoming *community centered* as well as *child centered.*

Spontaneity in Education

Organic growth and psychological unfoldment are accompanied by corresponding interests and activities. As growth takes place, activities become attractive, necessary, and even imperative; for without these, development itself may be impaired or stunted. Thus manipulating, walking, speaking, and playing are an outcome of emerging powers; but, at the same time, activity is essential to further development. This is true of the intellect and of social attitudes as it is of the body. In the course of evolvement from infancy to adulthood, curiosities and thinking make their appearance; and social impulses arise. As one grows older, and the environment impinges itself upon one in more and more specific areas, questions and problems engage the mind. Such interests and curiosities are spontaneous, and a good education should be based upon them; for their appearance is an indication of the organism's readiness for learning and action. In addition, as they come to maturity they give direction to psycho-organic energies. We must therefore encourage young people and children to follow these gradually evolving interests, this being the best means for creating active hands and minds; and for making school, club, and center experiences fruitful. Certainly, spontaneous interests and questions should form the basis for club and classroom programs; for around them vital and meaningful content can be built. The members are more receptive and responsive to subject matter when it has some relations to existing interests. This is not so likely to occur when a program is prepared in advance either by an adult or even by a committee of students. A method that employs interest at a time of its greatest intensity cannot but result in quickened thinking, keener curiosity, and genuine, meaningful knowledge.

Character education, in the light of modern psychological understanding, is, therefore, a result of incidental functioning rather than a product of a planned procedure. In his discussion of settlement education, Herman F. Hegner says: "The unorganized work is the most valuable and vital; and where organization is necessary it should simply supplement the unorganized or personal work. The organized work is made the servant of the unorganized work." The educator must grasp at the opportunities that are offered to him by the growing organism of the child and youth as it reaches out into environment for its nourishment. This method of education we shall designate as the *method of spontaneity.*

A program based upon spontaneous interests and questions presents definite educational advantages. It (1) retains and stimulates interests; (2) sharpens curiosity; (3) results in increased knowledge; (4) aids the synthetic process in thinking; (5) helps overcome the natural resistance of the mind to think through problems; (6) reveals the unity and the relatedness of the different knowledges; and (7) develops the capacity to integrate discrete information into a body of unified thought.

The Problem of Motivation

Educators have long recognized the need for, and devised methods of motivating, learning and activity. Some of them include dramatization, questioning, child-participation, co-ordinated activity. In "group work," programs are frequently motivated by athletic interests, holiday celebrations, and smiliar means. Such consciously applied motivations in education we designate as *induced motivations* as contrasted with *organic motivations.*

Natural motivations for activity and thought arise from native disposition, from growing powers and desires, and from direct interaction with the external world. A child begins to walk when his leg muscles grow strong, and he inquires when his intellect becomes ready. It is possible, of course, to accelerate this readiness, and to put it forward through artificial means. The child's dependence on the adult, his need for acceptance and the prestige that the adult builds up about himself, dispose him to accept unquestioningly the plans laid out for him. He appears avid for the information poured into him, willing, and even enthusiastic to meet requirements. This is, however, no guarantee that orderly growth takes place. External conformity may be the result of weakness; ready acquiescence is often a symptom of fear or dependence. The child may perform tasks assigned, retain learnings as required, even though these are unsuitable to his needs at that time.

Character education must emphasize situation as differentiated from devices, unless the devices themselves lead to appropriate situations. Formal and informal education are becoming increasingly cluttered with techniques for motivating and inducing activity and learning often detrimental to the pupil. The artificiality of these fails to evoke a deep response. When there is no "felt need," they turn the child into a conforming automaton. The inner drives for activity must interact with the external world; and when classroom and club are so cloistered that they make little or no contact with the external micro- or macro-cultures, they are unsuitable for a dynamic society. Artificial stimuli and invented devices must be used only when more genuine situations do not exist. There is no need for them whenever the group process is set in action.

SOCIAL DISCOVERY

Adult guidance, though preventing group disorganization, must not check social discovery and experimentation. One must experience in reasonable amounts difficulties in adjusting oneself to others; one must discover at first hand group solidarity and the patterns of group action. The principle of discovery is as operative in social living as it is in every other activity. The difficulty one usually encounters in a plan of social experimentation, however, is the habitual group routines in schools and elsewhere that children and young people adopt unquestioningly from the environment and from adult groups. Objectives and procedures are readily taken over *in toto* by clubs of young people from those of their elders. It is more important to develop mental aggressiveness and the willingness to examine the validity of social forms than to get children to accept unhesitatingly forms and ideas (beyond the most essential routines of everyday living). The capacity—and the desire—to evaluate are the foundations for social stability with change; and, therefore, for progressive social evolution. They beget the convictions and knowledge that are necessary for conscious group action and purposing. These attitudes are the bases of social-mindedness, as contrasted with mass-mindedness and blind following of a demagogue. To accomplish these ends, group action must be encouraged and education must provide: (a) an environment of diversity as to materials and opportunities for expression; (b) spontaneous response to stimuli; (c) an atmosphere of freedom for experimentation, discovery and gradual development both in complexity and perfection, and (d) a social or group environment.

Categories of Objectives

The numerous objectives set for contemporary education, classified with respect to aims and methods, fall into three distinct categories. In the first, the most prevalent group are those objectives that concern themselves with acquiring information and with learning certain facilities and skills. Knowledges, such as reading, writing, arithmetic, history, and geography, are rightly considered as foundational to civilized living. These, it would seem, must be mastered before one can live in a civilized community. But in recent years school requirements have been greatly broadened to include health education, elements of the social sciences, and some elementary manual occupations. However, although the curricula were broadened, the method is still one of training.

Teaching of subject matter and skills, as carried on in most schools, does not consider the emotional reactions of pupils. Little or no consideration is given to the effect upon the personality of the learner, nor to what attitudes are engendered toward the learning situation, toward adults, toward the learner himself, and toward society generally. Thus are individual differences, needs, talents, abilities, and interests ignored. Health and psychological problems come under review only if they block learning. Even when psychologic guidance is offered to the few most difficult pupils, it is given in order to effect better school adjustment—more submissive behavior and better acceptance of the school regime—and not primarily to improve the pupil's health. Those objectives of education that deal only with acquiring information and skills we shall designate as *acquisitive objectives.* These completely dominated the school in the past. They are still the chief aims, though to a somewhat lesser extent, in contemporary education as well. The conviction is growing among schoolmen, however, that the mastery of information is a minor function of schools; that the acquiring of knowledge, desirable as it is, must not be at the expense of orderly and wholesome growth of personality and a widening social outlook.

Purely acquisitive objectives in education are to a considerable extent remnants of feudalism, when schooling was the privilege of the few and most select. Then the aim was to make accessible to these élite the *cultural* wealth of their age—books, religion, travel, and desirable contacts with people, particularly in foreign lands. Under such conditions the learning content of necessity had little to do with life. It was confined to those facts and experiences, such as travel, that embellished conversation and secured for one an air of superiority and "refinement." This situation has changed. Industrial development, with the resultant democratic trend, has brought education to the masses of the people. Its intent is to improve the productivity of the average worker, who now has to do tasks requiring knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Most industrial and commercial occupations, even the menial ones, can be performed with greater gain to the employer by persons who can read and write and follow instructions. Thus the school's task is to impart to the potential wage-earner these intellectual tools in order to increase his efficiency and his worth to the employer. For these reasons, and because of the cultural lag inherent to institutions, the schools have remained quite backward.

Only comparatively recently has education become concerned with another set of objectives, which we shall designate as *functional objectives.* According to the new point of view, we must add to acquiring of information and skills, development of power and other tools and attitudes necessary for living in a dynamic society. Schools now seek to prepare one for an adequate personal life, for constructive social participation, and to develop a broad outlook. It is not enough to give people information; information must be related to life. Further, modern education aims to develop emotional maturity and balance; it emphasizes creative power, creative imagination, social adjustment, constructiveness, and (less definite but not less important) personal happiness.

Modern psychological knowledge indicates, however, that even this plan does not fully meet the needs of today. We know that function and learning are conditioned by attitudes. Attitudes of receptivity or hostility, of aggressiveness or submissiveness, of fear or courage, of fellowship or of egotism, determine how a person will behave and how useful to society he will be. These dispositions influence the process of learning, too. The most important single aim of education, therefore, is to establish positive and constructive attitudes. The social attitudes in which the group is particularly interested are those that are loosely described as right, wrong, loyalty, patriotism, respect, social-, mass-, and world-mindedness. The newer education, whether formal or informal, lays particular stress upon these.

The educational aims that concern themselves with the development of feelings, values, appreciation, social dispositions, etc., we shall designate as *attitudinal objectives.*

The concepts and aims in this category are much less definite than those we discussed previously. Their meanings are subject to opinion. Even greater disagreement would be found in the methods suggested for evolving, imbuing with, or inculcating these personal and largely emotionalized attitudes in children and adults. Some believe that attitudes can be taught directly; others that attitudes are absorbed unconsciously from adults and from the cultural environment in which the child grows; still others that attitudes reflect, and are a by-product of, the general level of the personality. We evaluate these various techniques elsewhere in this volume. Here it will suffice to indicate the variety of views that exist concerning them.

The results of any educational experience cannot be assigned solely to any one of the three foregoing categories. An activity or learning aimed at accomplishing one of the results of necessity influences the personality in other areas as well. For example, learning a skill is an acquisitive act; but, in the process of that learning, one may come in contact with situations that require social adjustment (attitudinal qualities). To the extent that one can during the learning process try out an experiment on his own, he stimulates his imagination and creative powers (functional objectives). In addition to acquiring skills, there is also usually an increment in the knowledge concerning the materials used, or about the trade generally. Some arithmetic or measurement may be involved, discussion of industrial conditions and labor relations may come to the fore, which add to the learner's information (acquisitive learning). This simultaneous learning is inevitable in the ordinary process of living. However, education may emphasize one objective and minimize others. Traditional schools, for example, emphasize the acquisitive objectives to the detriment of personality development in general. Official schools can and do in many instances convert rote teaching into personality education. Informal work, however, should aim almost entirely to educate human emotions, will, etc.—the total personality. But many leisure-time agencies still concern themselves chiefly with athletics and amusements rather than with creative self-expression and self-discovery. They provide limited possibilities for active participation. They rather encourage spectatorism.

Most interest-arousing influences today—even the arts, literature, lectures, and classes—are spectator-interests. Although they heighten appreciation and have cultural value, to be of most significance, they should set afoot creative effort and participation. Modern education has shown that learning to appreciate may be the starting point of activity; and, with the use of proper techniques, any interest can serve the ends of personality growth. If the intention of education is development, personality enhancement, and life enrichment, it must lead to a more vital leisure. A good education should engender manual, intellectual, aesthetic, and social self-activity. It should include "tinker shops" for the non-academically minded, where puttering about with a variety of tools and simple electrical and mechanical objects can be done; science laboratories, where simple investigations of useful construction are possible; more professional shops for work in wood, metal, and other materials, with qualified directors in charge; studios for various graphic and plastic arts and for dress-making, embroidery, and other needle arts. The major part of such a program with older youth and adults would consist of study groups in social problems, in political developments and current events; literary groups and classes in every subject for which an interest is evinced; gymnasium work and other athletic occupations; more serious study and discussion; participation in social and world affairs. In fact, in the school of the future these and similar occupations will form the major portion of its curriculum.

Exploitive, Apprentice, and Dynamic Education

We have already noted that true educative activity must be as far as possible self-initiated: this is the method of child-assertiveness. But heretofore dominant practice has required that the adult assert himself instead. These practices are still widely employed in group work as well as in the classroom. Even if adult-assertive methods do induce activity on the part of the pupil, they still reflect the interests and preferences of the parent, teacher, or leader, and not of the child or the youth. Thus the adult's ideas and convictions on social matters are passed on to the child, who is used, perhaps unwittingly, as an instrument in the hands of his elders. An education, formal or informal, in which the pupil, child, youth, or adult is used in the scheme of another, and in which one is not encouraged to arrive at his own convictions and interests, we term *exploitive education.*

In the "totalitarian" countries education is highly exploitive. Children are trained for complete regimentation. They are indoctrinated in only one philosophy, which is approved and imposed by a hierarchy.

Another kind of static education is *apprentice education.* Here the objective is to teach the pupil definite information and skills because of curricular or other requirements, in the belief that such learnings are proper and necessary. In this kind of education the pupil must run the gantlet of definitely organized and planned teaching, training, and play. He must be prepared for life, "life" being what the adults think it is. We borrow the term apprentice from the trades of the days when young people were turned over to master-mechanics for training and discipline with a definite aim in view: learning a trade and the personal behavior appropriate for it. During this period of service the apprentice was placed in complete charge of the master. Thus, his service was quite definitely also servitude.

A similar situation exists in the traditional home and school. Childhood is considered a preparation for adulthood, and not a period to be lived fully, happily, and *completely.* The child is a means for perpetuating the ideals of adults, a mirror for reflecting their beliefs and views, and an imitator of their ways and customs. Although there is need for social and cultural continuity, it ought not be secured through rigidity and drill; for they produce mass-mindedness and eventually social and cultural decay. Survival of a culture is assured by voluntary acceptance of it, which comes with freedom and participation. An education that provides conditions for personality growth through creative effort, instead of by regimentation, we characterize as *dynamic education*.

Dynamic education is the instrument of a creative and permissive society, such as democracies are. To the extent that democracies are incomplete and inadequate, education also fails to be free and vital. Whenever a religious cult, economic interest, or political party seeks to exploit the population, it limits educational freedom accordingly. The bulwarks of freedom and democracy are the attitude-determining agencies of a nation. Chief among these is education, and there is constant struggle among the various social forces for the control of it. Each seeks to turn a free education into an exploitive one.

Propaganda v. Education

The imposition of views is not an effective means of making conviction permanent: the prey of one demagogue is likely to become the prey of another. Intellectual stability results from emotional stability, supported by information and knowledge. Although it is desirable to make habits flexible and consistency a secondary virtue, convictions must be based upon fact rather than upon opinion. Education favors intellectual adventure but not intellectual adventurers. Fanaticism, too, is shunned. Fanatics may not be ignorant, but they tend to ignore the wider implications of a situation, emotionalizing their preferences. Education for leadership and for intelligent followership cannot base itself upon doctrine and precept. The greatest weakness of democracy is "that the insignificant occupy the places of the mighty." In our present democracies we have leaders indoctrinate citizens with ideas that their hearers take seriously without critical thinking; monarchs indoctrinate their subjects with beliefs that the latter never really make their own. A true democracy follows the motto expressed by John Dewey: "Learn to *act* with and for others while you learn to *think* and judge for yourself." But such a democracy would have to be free from vested interests. In it men would be ends in themselves rather than pawns in the schemes of the powerful.

The difference between education and propaganda lies largely in method. In the first, the various views involved are considered, free discussion is encouraged, studies are instituted, a decision is made, and action is taken. This is essentially the educative process. It is thoughtful, reflective, and as far as possible, unemotional; though it must be remembered that people cannot be expected to view entirely unemotionally matters that concern them deeply. Propaganda, on the other hand, does not concern itself with any other view but that which it champions. It ignores all other aspects of a problem except that which it seeks to disseminate. Its methods are high-pressure methods, and it is intolerant to all but its own interests. In a very true sense, it is exploitive; for it exploits the emotions of the group.

Propaganda is justifiable and essential in many situations. It is one of the potent tools for social improvement and group action; but it is not educational, and must be viewed as of only temporary utility in times of crisis. The true danger of propaganda lies, of course,, in the unthinking attitudes that it engenders, as recent world events have shown. Education seeks to stimulate clear thinking and conviction, which guarantee the stability if not the permanence of an idea. Intellectual authority must be disparaged, whether in school or in the larger world of thought. A dynamic society is based upon understanding responsiveness rather than upon "instinctive obedience" or unresisting conformity.

The Method of Activity

The method of education most suited for development and for social maturity is that of *activity*. This method is characterized by pupil activity, pupil participation, pupil initiation, and pupil execution of the job in hand. It includes play, learning, construction, use of tools, experimentation, contact with natural and social processes. Here learning takes place by living and functioning, by becoming acquainted with social institutions and the industrial activity of society as well as with abstract facts. In such an education, teacher assertiveness gives way to child assertiveness. Physical aggressiveness is replaced by mental aggressiveness, by self-reliance, resourcefulness, and originality. There are already many text books of a new type, and a variety of new and different school occupations and teaching techniques have been devised to suit these new aims.

The concept of activity as an educational means has often been misapplied on the mistaken assumption that doing, keeping occupied and busy, is educative in itself. However, if an activity is entirely imposed, planned, and directed by the teacher, it fails to be educative. If standards of achievement are imposed by an adult, when the child's work is subject to his approval or disapproval, the latter's interest is not directed toward original creation, but rather toward satisfying the set standards. Educative activity is largely self-initiated and occurs on a progressively evolved level; it engages the whole-hearted interest of the pupil; it stimulates his powers and is appropriate to his particular stage in growth and capacities. Thus play, constructional activity, intellectual effort, and social participation are the order of major interests as the child passes through the various phases in his growth.

In discussing an activity program it is necessary that we recognize some of its basic characteristics. *First,* young people desire to be active in such a way as to produce some tangible product. These results may be objects made by hand, a group enterprise, a rally, a debate, a concert, a magazine. Youngsters are practical-minded, and most of them are not attracted by abstract ideas. *Second,* activity in a social setting gradually develops social responsibility and a desire to participate constructively in the social life of the community. *Third,* the most potent influence in character building is the interaction of individuals with one another in a free relation. This can best be accomplished through purposeful group effort and by individual work *in a social setting,* and through unhampered exchange of ideas and feelings. *Fourth,* enrichment of personality is a by-product of activity that springs from whole-hearted interest, from overcoming problems, and through responding to challenges. Activity that does not engage interest nor offer challenge has very little educative or developmental value. Teachers and leaders of clubs need, therefore, to employ methods that will motivate activity by appealing to basic drives and interests. *Fifth,* education is not attained entirely through rational procedure—through ideas and words. Development of personality is a more subtle process. It results from inner effort in the solution of manual, intellectual, and social problems; from relations with adults; from interactivity with others; and through active contact with the external physical environment. Creative expression, i.e., an individual way of doing things and an original approach to a problem (whether in the field of ideas, in handwork, or in art), develops a vigorous mind and aesthetic appreciation, and adds to the fullness and richness of life.

An activity program is fluid and changeable. It should be an outcome of individual and collective interests. Young people's mental and intellectual activity may take them far afield from the original intention of the group or the school curriculum; but, in a good education, interest supersedes organization and spontaneity takes precedence over plan. The constructive curiosities that need to be aroused and to be made an integral pattern of the mind cannot develop where logical relations are placed above the psychological requirements of the moment. In this respect, a free activity club program is vastly superior to the traditional classroom. Being free from routine and curricular requirements, it gives outlet not only to urges for activity but also to spontaneous curiosity concerning world topics, individual problems, and matters of personal adjustment. Thus, education is made vital and meaningful because it bases itself upon matters with which the mind is already occupying itself. Members of groups should therefore be encouraged to contribute from the field of their own special interests and skills. In a creatively conducted education each is hospitable to the interests of the others; each is encouraged by praise and appreciation of effort; and, as a result, the program is varied and vital. Members with varying interests should find a forum and encouragement in the club and classroom. Whatever final results may be desired in education, the approach must be made with these interests as a base.

It should not be assumed, however, from the preceding statements that the teacher, club leader, or other adult has no function in an activity program. On the contrary, without the presence and participation of an adult, efforts at developing a vital educational program would be aborted by lack of information, cliques, hostility, apathy, or absence of materials and ideas for developing and extending activity. Ordinarily, groups of children and even of adults are not able to enlarge the scope of their interests and thought without some stimulation or guidance. All groups need a leader, and much depends upon leadership.

Among the many signs by which inner growth and maturity can be recognized are improved skills, control, knowledge, and ideas. Mental and manual activity in a good education is progressive not only in its content but also in its complexity. The occupations in educative schools and clubs must not consist of mere "busy work." If they fully engage and meet the needs of the emerging powers of the pupils, they of necessity aid development and maturity. Progress in development, therefore, cannot easily be measured by objective standards.

Education Resists the New Barbarism

The old-type school is occupied with subject matter. The better type of education has laid emphasis upon the individual: it is child-centered. But a re-examination of this philosophy in the light of contemporary events and the present world scene points to the need of a different emphasis. The numerous social tensions that surround us on all fronts—political, economic, social, and international affairs—evidently cannot be solved through an individualistic civilization. We must face squarely the fact that the entire structure of civilization is threatened by invading hordes of barbarians. The world is faced with a cultural regression. The principle that the new barbarians promulgate is the complete submission of the individual to the force of dictators. Their derisive harangues against democracy seem to be acceptable to large groups in other countries as well. Economic collapse, with consequent unbearable poverty and insecurity, are fertile grounds for discontent and ready acceptance of anything that sheds a ray of hope for relief. This is the major cause of the sad plight in which the world finds itself today. To this, however, has been added the appeal to the infantile craving among the masses for display and uniforms, masses on parade, the rhythm of martial music, goose-stepping, and the external splendor and show that have always been irresistible to children and those who grew up only physically.

To these forces have to be added the gratifications that organized sadism, directed toward various minorities, affords the repressed and the exploited. Their resentment and frustrations, their doubts and anxieties, are redirected into active cruelty in the belief that the destruction of the scapegoat will eliminate the cause of their own suffering. The response by large numbers to such doctrines is a result of mass-mindedness as contrasted with social-mindedness. The mass-minded person responds to infantile appeals such as are employed by the instigators and propagandists. He is played upon by experts in manipulating and intensifying his emotionalism, who bring about a complete collapse of his judgment and restraint.

The place of education in a world so confused is quite definite. To the extent that it can be effective as an attitude-determining agency, education must be employed to counteract the spread of reaction among the adults on the one hand and, on the other, to immunize the minds of the young against a too ready or blind acceptance of untested ideas. Schools and informal education can build up a resistance to mass-hypnosis, prevent submissiveness to authoritarianism, and build up loyalty to conviction. This can be accomplished by a high degree of emotional development, sound knowledge, and insight. The most important of these is emotional maturity, for immunity to mass-mindedness does not come from ideas or from knowledge. Responsiveness to prestige, to power, to bombast, to shiny uniforms, and to parades is entirely a remnant from infancy. The infantile mind also believes in magic and the "strong man" of the fable stage in childhood, who can solve all problems and conquer all evil. Thus the "strong man," the "great leader," emerges. Instead of extolling individuals and authority in education, we can better meet the emerging needs of democratic society by emphasizing the group and group action.

EDUCATION AS GUIDANCE

Another pertinent factor in education as it relates to personality development and character training is social adjustment. Educators generally are becoming increasingly conscious of their failure to help pupils attain those traits and attitudes that make for a happy personal life and for a useful social life. Although their work may make children good memorizers (it engenders, at the same time, a distaste for knowledge and inquiry. At present, education by and large is not planned for guidance. The guidance needs of the child and youth are left to chance circumstances and to the buffeting of undirected influences. These guidance needs of children and youth in our modern complex society are a real challenge to the school and the center.

The effectiveness of any educational effort is predicated upon individual capacities and upon external conditions that either help or check development. Education's main objective is to activate the innate powers of man to the full. It recognizes, however, that development of personality and character does not occur in a vacuum. We have already seen that the social setting not only actively influences development, but also determines the kind of personality we must and can evolve. Generally speaking, education seeks adjustment by the individual to the here and now of the world, but with a view toward a changing and evolving society.

Attitudes toward self, others, and the world generally are determined by relationships with adults and peers in the family, on the street, at school, at play, and in other groups. Although much can be accomplished by reorganizing school practices, recreational methods, and "group work," more important to character training than these are the early relations between the adult and the child. The feelings and attitudes and the resulting behavior are, in the final analysis, determined by his experiences with the world. This world is represented by those who are intimately involved in the child's life: parents, nurses, relatives, teachers, principals, club leaders, policemen, etc.

The Pre-logical Phase of Education

In fitting education to the needs of the child, it is important to keep in mind the often-overlooked fact that he passes through stages in development that can be described as *sub-rational,* or *pre-logical.* Too often is the young child faced in the home, in the school, and in the club with situations, precepts, and ideas that do not belong to that particular phase in his development. The child's responsiveness to the world, the tools he employs to understand and control it, are at first un-intellectual. He knows and feels his world very much as the lower animals do. Ideas are alien to him. He does not comprehend their social significance. Indeed, he does not understand the isolated words, let alone the concepts that adults seek to convey through them.

But adults insist on using words and concepts, often with little or no results; and they become no less confused by their failure than their charges are by their words. If the young child does follow a moral precept, it is only because he *divines* the adult's intention, and not because he understands the statements. If the child likes the adult, and has a need for him, he conforms. This conformity, however, cannot be attributed to understanding. It is rather a compliment to the adult. But the parent, nurse, or teacher derives from it a strange sense of power (which can be termed the *omnipotence of words),* and continues to employ his power. The belief in magic is ever alive in man. The primitive believed in the omnipotence of thought, and devised numerous and intricate protections against the evil eye and ill-wishers. Language being the most potent weapon of civilized man, he attributed magic power to it. Rousseau formulated a similar complaint: "We expect too much of the child when we think it ought to be able to distinguish between good and evil, and to recognize the bases of human obligations. . . . Having tried vainly to argue your children into obedience you will then resort to threats, or still worse, to flattery and the promise of rewards . . . and you think you have convinced your charges when you have merely intimidated them or bored them into submission." But in spite of the lapse of time since the writing of the above, the statement still remains true.

Not only is the small child confused by the adult's abstractions; older pupils as well are balked by a schooling that involves only the intellect. Perhaps just because the intellect is the least developed of all the child's faculties, we concentrate on it, ignoring the child's life of impulse, of play, of color, and of rhythm. By doing this, we emphasize the child's greatest weakness: namely, his lack of intellectual comprehension, which enhances his sense of inferiority and, therefore, also his resentment. Adults often wonder why children dislike them so. It is because they reject the child's true personality and expose his lack and deficiencies. Early education should consist entirely of sub-rational pursuits: music, art, play, manual work, creative and original effort in all directions. It has been demonstrated by numerous teachers in free schools that ideas and concepts inevitably arise from activity. In fact, free creative play even with scientific materials is fruitful. It leads to discovery and formulation of the most abstract concepts. In one instance, two twelve-year-old boys, as a result of an unexpected development while they were making ink, evolved a plausible explanation for the origin of life on this planet.[1]

The principle propounded here does not mean that the child should be discouraged in his pursuit of curiosity and of intellectual mastery. We hold simply that education must utilize the existing capacities of the individual at the moment of their greatest power, and build on them. There are stages of the child's life when facts are very important to his growth and security. Knowledge must be supplied to him at these times. But it is necessary to have a plan of education that allows the pupil to become ready for these ideas before they are forced upon him.

The Child's Dream World

One of the many abuses that the child suffers at the hands of adults is the insensitiveness with which his phantasy life is treated. He is ruthlessly awakened from his dream world, often with serious consequences. Phantasy, whether expressed in rhythm, color, or words, is essentially part of growing up. Through it adjustments to the world of actuality are made less painful. Phantasy eases the shock with which the world, tailored for and by adults, forces itself upon the child. It serves as a cushion between the overbearing actual world and his abilities to cope with it. Thus phantasy is at once an escape and a protection, and it has immense value. It serves to reduce pain and suffering, and builds health and optimism. Only when phantasy persists beyond the appropriate age or is too intense, does it become unwholesome. It should lead toward reality (which it does, in the child) and not away from it, as in the adult.

The child's phantasy serves as an outlet for prohibited impulses and urges. He sublimates these in play and creative activity. Thus phantasy here serves as a regulator of the unconscious, and helps establish inner equilibrium. Expression, such as painting, music, or the drama, reduces the pressure of guilt aroused by furtive impulses and thoughts. Some of the other values of phantasy to the child are that, under appropriate conditions, it leads to creative effort, to power, self-expression, and to self-determination. If phantasy is rendered dynamic and a source of growth, it finds outlets through creative forms. This helps him get closer to reality; it also builds up a sense of power, of achievement, self-worth; and gains for him social recognition. All these are of utmost importance to those attitudes that later become the basis of wholesome character. Because the child uses his phantasy to escape unpleasantness in the adult-made world, and converts some of its more offensive aspects to suit his own needs, phantasy is a form of rebellion leading to independence. Thus, it is important to character formation; for self-determination is one of the chief attributes of an integrated character. The first steps in this direction therefore lie in early phantasy and creative imagination. But, to repeat, phantasy gradually recedes in a good education, and its place is taken by actuality and its demands. Reality, therefore, is an evolving concept and an expanding experience consisting of a compromise or fusing of phantasy and actuality.

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[1] For further illustrations of the point that children's sub-rational activities lead to intellectual development see record material in Slavson and Speer's *Science in the New Education,* New York: Prentice-Hall, 1934; also Slavson, S. R., *Values of Laboratory Experiences, Childhood Education,* Vol. XV, No. 8, pp. 341-46.

The other condition of the child's personality that education must either prevent or rectify is that of doubt and distrust. A prurient world, full of secrets and taboos, sets up confusion and doubt. The conditions and demands of civilized life make complete frankness between adults and children impossible. The uncomprehending mind of the child, however, cannot appreciate this necessity for secrecy. The evasive and furtive answers that he receives fill him with distrust of the adult. Being excluded from much of the adults' private life, he becomes a prey to unwholesome curiosity and fear. The necessary secrecy that surrounds the average child in his home and later on in other relations puzzles and stupefies him. It seems ominous and challenging. But one thing is certain: the child feels excluded, rejected. Although some of these reactions are inevitable to childhood in modern society, the shock can be greatly alleviated in the manner in which these taboos are applied. Restrictions imposed by an adult whom the child trusts and regards as his friend do not leave him with the same feeling of resentment and suspicion as when they are forced on him by an antipathetic individual. "The basic evil," says Dr. Karen Horney, "is invariably a lack of genuine warmth and affection. A child can stand a great deal . . . as long as inwardly he feels wanted and loved. . . . Observation shows beyond any doubt that children, as well as adults, can accept a great many deprivations, if they feel the deprivations to be just, fair, necessary or purposeful. . . . What matters is the spirit in which frustrations are imposed rather than the frustrations themselves."[2]

The task that often falls to formal and informal education is (1) to counteract the doubt and distrust set up in the home; and (2) to prevent further confusion in the mind of the child. Educators must reveal to the child, as he becomes ready for it, such facts as will clear up for him the troublesome secrets and allay his stress and puzzlement. The first step in this direction is to establish a relation of trust and freedom between the pupil and his mentor, for only under such conditions will the child seek the information he desires, or believe and accept it when given.

Larger Objectives of Education

If we were to get the consensus of opinions of frontier thinkers in school and leisure-time education, the following objectives would perhaps stand out: (1) personality development; (2) character training; (3) social education; (4) discovery of avocational interests; (5) vocational guidance; (6) refining the selective capacity from environment; (7) developing creative power and creative imagination; (8) developing leadership; (9) aiding in the evolving of a guiding philosophy of life; (10) engendering intellectual hospitality and (11) developing a sense of reality. A discussion of these forms the material of Chapters VII to X, inclusive.

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[2] *The Neurotic Personality of Our Times.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1937, pp. 80-82.

CHAPTER IV

GROUP DYNAMICS

AGGREGATION IN NATURE AND SOCIETY

Without some native disposition for aggregation, civilization would not be possible. Inherent tendencies for getting together are present in some of the lowest states of biologic life and among all animals. Because man's survival depends upon them, society directs and controls these collective or social instincts. Biologists have made some significant discoveries as to the causes for plant and animal aggregations. Anthropologists and ethnologists have long ago made similar studies with respect to human groups, such as nations, tribes, and races. Less recently, psychology has also turned its attention to the subject; but it deals with the less extensive groups of the micro-cultures.

The basic thesis of this volume is that group experiences are the foundations of personality. Without them man would remain either on the level of lower animals or in a state of infantile ego-centricity, limited and isolated. "Man is nothing without the work of man," said Helvetius. Reference to the various micro-cultural groups described in an earlier chapter shows how "man works upon man." These groups and the culture of the larger world combine to arouse one's awareness and widen his horizons. Although the many cultural advantages, such as travel, the arts, and the sciences, contribute greatly to personality, the chief factor is intimate relations with people. These relations modify primitive impulses along social lines. The mechanisms by which this is accomplished are known in psychology as repression, inhibition, sublimation, and substitution. One soon discovers that to get along with others it is necessary to slough off some of the selfish impulses; otherwise one would neither have friends nor be accepted by the group. Of group life it can be truly said that "whosoever will lose his life . . . shall save it." Through interaction with adults and his peers, the child discovers the will and needs of other people. He also discovers his own weaknesses as well as his powers in relation to them. The contributions of each group micro-culture to development differ in their nature and intensity. The succession of relations in the various groups, beginning with the family, leave their imprint upon the final complex that is personality.

The Group as a Triangle

For the present discussion it is necessary to differentiate between influences exerted by individuals and by groups. Although each has its own value and makes its own contribution to the final result, the aim here is to emphasize the group aspect of character formation. For our present purpose, a group is conceived as consisting of three or more persons in an informal relation where there is a maximum interpenetration and prolonged direct emotional activity among the individuals constituting it, and as a result of which the personality of each member is modified. By this definition the group is limited to a small number, for there is little or no possibility of deeply affecting relations in a large mass. Large masses may operate in accordance with some of the mechanics to be described later in this chapter, but they do not provide the situations for interpenetration and direct face-to-face experiences.

We have defined a group as consisting of at least three persons, for it is usually the third and succeeding persons who introduce problems and stresses that do not ordinarily exist in a two-person relationship. The relations in families and among friends and other more or less intimate groups are always affected by the introduction of additional people. It is common knowledge that the presence of an "in-law" creates rifts that ordinarily would not appear between couples.[1] Similarly, the advent of a child may create stresses and strains that did not previously exist between the parents. The need for readjustment occurs also among intimate friends where there are more than two of such friends.

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[1] Parents and other relatives in such cases do not have to be physically present. Attachments to them may be so strong that their influence operates even in their absence. This may also be true in very deep friendships, especially that of the wife for another woman, though the husband's friendship for another man sometimes blocks marital adjustments as well.

Dr. Fritz Wittels' analysis of family dynamics seems to be based upon a similar concept when he says: "In one way or another, the 'triangle' invariably comes into being. . . . The only child necessarily forms the apex of the triangle. When there are several children, the father or the mother constitutes the apex, while two of the youngsters (generally two that are much of an age) will form the other angles. Where there are great gaps between ages, and especially when the youngest child is born after a long interval, the only-child relationship will often be mimicked, the 'baby' becoming the apex of the triangle, while the eldest brother and the eldest sister, as father-substitute and mother-substitute, constitute the other two angles."[2]

Outside the family circle there are also individuals whose difficulties can be classified as "third-person problems." These are persons whose behavior seems quite normal and acceptable in a face-to-face relation with *one* other individual, but whose demeanor almost instantly changes when additional people appear on the scene. They at once become either withdrawn, exhibitionistic, or hostile. The appearance of additional persons seems to release hidden emotional pressure. The cause of such behavior probably lies either in an intense feeling of inferiority, in anxiety, or (more likely) defective group relationships in early life.

INTERSTIMULATION AND INTERACTION

In traditional schooling the group process is almost entirely absent. The teacher brings his pupils under his control and not under the control of the group. There is little interaction among the members of the class. In the modern school, the group process is emphasized considerably more; for we have come to recognize that all important education is derived from group experience. Whether in the learning of facts or skills, the training of character, or the developing of personality, the educative process is a social one: it occurs either in the family, the class, the gang, the club, or other such temporary or permanent groups. Hence, education must be conceived of as a group experience, and all group experience as educative. The older the child, the more vitally and directly does the group affect him. Children of the nursery age, for example, make hardly any contact with one another, though their behavior is quite definitely affected by the presence of other children. Each is engaged in his occupation by himself; but the very presence of the others affects everyone in the room: conduct is altered; interest is stimulated; activity is intensified. This behavior or reaction is a result of what is known as *interstimulation*. However, as we go up the age scale in the classroom groupings, we find that, under the same conditions of freedom as those prevailing in a nursery group, there exists constant and shifting *interactivity*. Pupils work in twos, threes, or in larger numbers. They exchange views, disagree, supplement information, add suggestions, fight, struggle for supremacy, compete with one another. There are evident group dynamics taking place. But the dynamics of the nursery age are equally real and the process as important. They occur, however, covertly, rather than overtly as with older children; and interaction displaces interstimulation as they grow older. Although both forces are always present in true groups, interaction is more prominent among civilized adults than it is among primitives, and in democratic societies more than in totalitarian states.

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[2] *Set the Children Free!* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., p. 173.

INDUCTION AND INTERSTIMULATION

Interstimulation is always present among members of a group. The individuals composing a group influence one another physically, intellectually, and emotionally. As a result of this, the emotional tone is generally heightened; frequently, tenseness sets in. The most important group characteristic is present in an exaggerated state in masses and mobs. A mob acts almost entirely on interstimulation. It derives its power from *mutual intensification of the central emotion*. Students of human behavior have often called attention to the "infectiousness of emotion." They have pointed out the empirically ascertained fact that, in the presence of emotionally disturbed people, everyone becomes infected with the same feelings. As we analyze further the mechanics of interstimulation, we find that the individual here responds to what can more accurately be termed *induction*. We borrow this term from the electrical phenomenon in which one coil placed within the field of another becomes charged, although it is not in direct contact with the electrical source. The use of this analogy seems especially justifiable at a time when bodily and mental processes have recently been shown to be accompanied by measurable electrical activity.

Interstimulation and induction are not characteristic of man's behavior alone. They are present in lower animal groups as well. The writer was once greatly impressed with the induction of emotions among animals while he was watching the monkey grove some years ago in the London Zoo. In this grove lived about a hundred monkeys, some of whom herded in family groups. One of these family groups had a young monkey that looked ill, very much like a human tubercular patient. Every so often this sick monkey would be convulsed by a fit of shrill coughing. At once, the parents, the siblings, and all the monkeys in the surrounding area reacted with fear and shrieks. Interstimulation and induction serve to intensify emotion.

The most evident form of intensification is *group hysteria,* which occurs as a result of appeal to a fundamental drive, such as sex, fear, or rage. Mob behavior is caused by the intensification of some such primary emotion. Sometimes it is common fear exaggerated that produces irrational behavior; at other times it is deeply repressed hatred or sexual impulses. Religious sects, some types of secret societies, and certain governments are organized intensifications of emotions. Nazi Germany is only one example of this in modern times. Less organized expressions of the same phenomenon are riots, lynchings, and war.

Interaction quite definitely tends to check irrationality. Induction and interstimulation move in the same direction as the originating source of action or emotion. Interaction, on the other hand, tends to counteract any one influence, and thus balances behavior. It acts, in a sense, as inhibition. In mob action, for example, only the intensifiers of emotion operate; in a deliberative group, interaction takes place. Not only are ideas modified in the latter, but the tendency to emotionalism is blocked by the neutralizing influences of some of the members as against the others. Interaction has its roots in the fact that each individual has a will of his own and therefore carries within himself trends for self-determination. If the strivings for self-assertion of people coalesce, interstimulation (intensification) occurs; when they conflict totally or in part, interaction takes place.

THE PHENOMENON OF NEUTRALIZATION

Interaction produces one of three results: (1) total neutralization, or inactivity; (2) partial neutralization, or compromise; (3) no neutralization, or conflict. As a result of the first, emotions and drives are negated, as it were; the original impetus for action and purpose disappears and the group becomes inactive and ineffectual. The function of the true leader with a social purpose is to prevent such complete negation. The demagogue, on the other hand, seeks to eliminate impulse in the group; he destroys the group will by neutralizing the emotion that gave it its original impetus for action. Neutralization of drives is the way of the mis-leader of men. It is among the most undesirable of methods, for it strips the group of its motive power: emotions, propulsion, and conviction.

Compromise is the most common of all group mechanisms. It comes about through partial neutralization by (a) finding a common ground for agreement or (b) lessening the emotional pressure among the participants. Most people tend to stick to their own first choice, because their ego is tied up with it. Intellectual processes are easily emotionalized, as we know. The only possible method to overcome such an impasse is compromise. This permits at once self-determination (even though a partial one) for all concerned, and meets group needs. The group leader's chief function is to act as a catalytic agent in this neutralizing process.

Although compromise is necessary for group life, it is by itself neither creative nor dynamic. Compromise is constructive only when it is used as one of the tools of group living. To adopt it as the sole rule of life is a sign of dishonesty or fear. Politicians, diplomats, and others who cannot follow ideals but are activated by "practical" considerations are ready to compromise at all times if it suits their ends. Compromise is socially useful only when the gains accruing from it benefit the group. When it is employed for personal ends as a permanent rule of life it makes for ineffectiveness and is used only by the mediocre.

Conflict occurs where no neutralization of emotional pressure among the constituents of the group is possible either on all points of the disputed matters or on those elements that arouse intense feelings among the partisans.

When interests, attitudes, and convictions remain unaffected by those with whom one is engaged in a common pursuit, we may say there has been a total absence of neutralization, and conflict is an inevitable result. This conflict may be overt and active, or hidden. The parties involved may withdraw and have no contact with each other. They remain, however, hostile and ready to resume the struggle on any provocation. More commonly, the partisans pursue the struggle until either open hostilities are declared or the group disintegrates. The group should act as a neutralizer of its members' emotions, for one of its chief contributions to personality development is that it disposes individuals to have their pet ideas and feelings modified by others.

Mutual Identification

One of the important foundations for group living is man's capacity to feel with other people, even though he himself may not suffer with the same malady or distress. This ability, described as *mutual identification,* he acquires to a great extent through early family relations, though it is based upon a deep-seated need of his own. The most coherent groups that act in concert and with unified purpose are those in which there is mutual identification (commonly designated as sympathy or "understanding") among their members. In a group where there is a great degree of such understanding there also exists the possibility for concerted action; here the positive elements are intensified. Mutual identification is at once the most potent and the most nearly universal socializing influence on society. The "homogeneous" groups (common-interest groups, social coteries, economic classes, cultural groups, etc.) are groups in which there is mutual identification. Patriotic organizations and all types of sects originate in identification of their members.[3] Sects, however, are also determined by group polarity, which we shall describe presently.

Assimilation

Assimilation is another tendency that helps the socializing process and group coherence. It is accomplished by lessening self-assertion. The infant accepts the parent as a controlling force, and becomes a part of the family group. The youth and the adult find in the group substitutes for these early gratifications. There is little doubt, however, that the capacity to become assimilated in a group is at least in part conditioned by early family life. Other elements that come into play are the native capacity for social development in the individual and the balance in him between masochism and sadism.

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[3] Mutual identification can also limit social development. This aspect of its influence is discussed elsewhere.

From the sociological point of view, assimilation is a quality that is most prized by the group; for through it the individual becomes completely fused with it and is thus held in check. The reader will readily recognize in assimilation a form of "self-effacement" (masochism). As already noted, the aim of the group is to maintain its stability and security. Hence society is conservative and non-progressive. Progress is initiated by the non-assimilated individuals, who follow their drive for self-determination in the field of their efforts. Only individuals, not society or a group, can be creative. The creative person and the innovator, therefore, must be, from the point of view of society, a non-conformist. Dr. Abraham Myerson's aphorism aptly states this: "The world is built upon the sacrifices of the idealists, and eternally it crucifies them." But what about the creative society, about which one hears so much? A creative society can only provide for and encourage the work of its creative citizens. It cannot be itself creative.

POLARITY AND GROUP COHESIVENESS

Through *group polarity* individuals are drawn to a person, ideal, or common objective that unifies them. Thus is homogeneity of purpose and interest produced and leadership made possible. The term, "polarity," like "induction," is by design borrowed from electricity; for the process is as common in social as in physical phenomena. The center around which a group gathers, be it a person or an issue, is always more or less definite. Nearly all groups are polarized around some such center. Further, the most stable and most vital groups are those that have very sharp and emotion-arousing poles or centers; while groups without such poles are fluid and unstable.

Polarization also intensifies emotion in people. The members of a group centered around a person, ideal, or interest reinforce each other, and under favorable conditions interstimulation of a high intensity may occur. Polarized groups, therefore, are capable of enthusiasm, and often exert great pressure in the community. They are not infrequently the effective groups of social action. On the other hand, because interaction among the members is low in the purely polarized group (as in sectarian groups), very little individual growth is possible. The leader, or the doctrine which he represents, is the source of inspiration and not the individual's expanding vision. Further, even groups with an agreed purpose may have within themselves polarized clusters of individuals who in some respects differ from others within the larger group, such as sects, minorities, cliques.

Personality growth, development of talent, and spiritual enrichment would not be possible were it not for the fact that man is able to live with others. The environment of the human personality is other humans. They stimulate one, provide a setting for expression, and supply a purpose for action. Polarity, however, is not essential to the individual. One can gain security and receive stimulation from many other persons and from a number of institutions, and still remain outside polarized groups. One can have a circle of warm friends and be interested in the arts or in a profession. People who have a resistance to induction can admire a great personality, believe in social ideals, be interested in the sciences, and yet not become attached to action groups or to learned societies. In brief, identification and assimilation are inner needs; polarization is a social instrument.

Rivalry and the Need to be the Only One

There are some group mechanisms that influence group formation adversely. Although in life the number is much greater, we shall call attention here to only two related directly to our thesis: *rivalry* and *projection*.

The source of rivalry as a motive is the family, where the child has to compete for parental affection either with other siblings or with another parent. The struggle for such affection is rooted in *the desire to be the only one*. This striving has not received its due attention in psychology or sociology. We consider it, however, to be both wide-spread and intense. "To be the only one" is a compelling striving that is carried over from the family to other spheres. In the arts, in the sciences, in the fields of invention and business every person is jealous of others who do *identical* things. They are less upset when the work is carried on in similar or related fields or by someone they do not know very intimately. What they really desire is that a specific feature should become identified with them only. This is similar to desiring to be an only child.

But, as the study of primitive culture unmistakably proves, early familial rivalry can be dissolved and counteracted by subsequent experiences. If a self-centered child is removed for a long period to a boarding school where group living is practised, he is likely to slough off this egoistic attitude. This is even more likely to happen if the total culture is based upon ideas unfavorable to the persistence of rivalry. On the other hand, if the total culture reinforces early selfishness, the rivalry motive continues and becomes a pattern for personal and social life.

The need "to be the only one" and the resulting rivalry among individuals are often fatal to the group. Emotionalism, hostility, recrimination, and cliques may result. These inevitably lead to group disintegration. One of the important functions of a leader (and a parent) is to maintain attitudes and create an atmosphere in which all feel equally favored and accepted—that is, to polarize the group.

Projection as a Factor in Group Disintegration

Among the most common mechanisms of the individual's behavior in the group is his constant effort to induce the group—be it family, club, professional organization, or political party—to accept his views and preferences. In view of the fact that a group consists of a number of individuals, each with his own pet ideas and a strong need to dominate, conflict and confusion result. The good leader is one who is capable of satisfying the members' needs for projecting themselves into the group and thereby gaining ego-satisfaction. But at the same time he is also able to modify the views and needs of the several members so as to make common action possible. The need for having one's views and convictions accepted by others can be viewed as stemming from the same source as the need for being accepted. It is more often tied up with the latter craving than it is with so-called "convictions."

This mechanism is therefore indirectly (and often directly) a form of the power drives which are satisfied through projecting one's personality. In fact, the final character of a group, particularly of a voluntary group, is the result of the various processes of neutralization, interaction, and integration. The immediate and direct tendency of projection, however, is to disrupt the group; and the function of a leader is to fuse and reconcile the various forces so that none or as few as possible of the constituent members feel neglected or ignored.

Integration and Arrested Development

We shall discuss here only one more aspect of group dynamics before we bring the list to a close. This is the process of *integration.* Integration is defined here as the tendency on the part of the mind to conceive of and adjust to a total situation. In a sense, this capacity counteracts the projection drives discussed in the preceding paragraphs. The integrative tendency, which was so forcefully brought out by such studies as those of Sherrington, Cannon, Marsden, and Wertheimer, is present in group living as well as in organic processes. The complete adjustment to a "total situation," or a group *Gestalt* (see p. 84), causes the individual to become a part of the group, and promotes the latter's vigor and existence. But at the same time such an over-intense *feeling of belonging* militates against social growth of the personality. It ties up the individual with any given group to the exclusion of others; it prevents criticism and evaluation of one's interests, and thus produces what is often referred to as "narrow mindedness." In addition, excessive loyalty of this kind limits one's experience to one or only a few groups, thus checking the social and cultural growth of the personality. In normal growth, it is necessary for the individual constantly to expand his horizons, to gain new experiences, and to evolve toward wider understanding. We have already referred to the fact that, desirable as family loyalties are, when they are too intense they tend to limit experience and personality growth. This is equally true of other groups such as clubs, political factions, and social and philosophical aggregations.

It has been pointed out elsewhere that over-homogeneous groups tending to exclude or prevent the expansion of loyalties are not suitable for social development.[4] Development is most readily achieved when shifts from one group to one or many others are made. An integrated person can disturb with ease his relations with a given group and re-establish them with another. The ability to withdraw from some and to integrate with other groups is one of the signs of a healthy, stable personality. This is especially necessary in a complex and interdependent society, where daily living brings one inevitably in contact with many and varying individuals and groups.

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[4] *Creative Group Education,* pp. 21-22.

A positive attitude toward the group pattern or *Gestalt* has still another effect. As a result of it, the individual tends to reject any disturbance in the total situation, caused either by losses or additions to the group. A too well-knit group is not hospitable to the newcomer. It either rejects him altogether, or makes his early life in it difficult. Obviously, such an attitude is undesirable and must be counteracted by appropriate means. The objective to be sought in education is to eliminate the insecurity of which such a resistance is a symptom. One of the evidences of recovery in groups of children with emotional difficulties is their ability to accept new members into their groups. In group therapy we use addition of members to a group as a method of treatment. In these instances, the clients re-experience the problems and shock they withstood at the birth of brothers and sisters; and their readiness to accept the new members into their midst is an index of their emotional maturity.

A GESTALT THEORY OF CONSERVATISM

In the preceding chapter we ascribed the conservative attitude in individuals to fear and insecurity. We have still to consider another reason for resistance to change only remotely related to these causes. Modern psychology has shown that we, in common with other animals, conceive or comprehend our environment, ideas, and relations to others in patterns: that is, we see things as a whole rather than as isolated elements. Any change in this configuration (*Gestalt*) upsets us. Liberalism and a progressive attitude require almost constant readjustment in ideas and values—a relational rearrangement—which proves too difficult for most people. They therefore escape into the ease of traditionalism. It is an easier, though less productive and less invigorating way of life to rely upon the past than to remake the present.

GROUP DYNAMICS IN CHARACTER FORMATION

We have described in this chapter the following mechanics in which group action occurs: interstimulation, interaction, induction, intensification, neutralization, identification, assimilation, projection, polarity, rivalry, and integration. We have not made clear, however, that these various processes are not mutually exclusive. Thus, in a group some aspects of emotional complex can become neutralized while others are being integrated. The possibilities for variation of group dynamics increase with the numbers of issues and of individuals involved. The various group processes are observable in all group formation and in all group life. These processes result from native inherences or from culturally induced needs. We have already indicated in another chapter that group emphasis and survival needs may exaggerate some and efface other primary or congenital trends. Any characteristic, even if desirable in certain degrees and intensities, can be so distorted and exaggerated that it becomes pathological. Exaggerated kindness and humility are suitable examples. Excessive suggestibility is as undesirable as inflexibility. Both are symptoms of neuroses. Too ready assimilativeness is evidently as unproductive as resistance. As in all other human functions, here also balance means health.

Since man is a group animal and his personality is a product of his social environment, the dynamics of group life have a direct bearing upon character formation. Those who find it necessary to deal with disoriented and socially broken-down persons have come to the conclusion that somewhere along the line of their growth, group relationships have played havoc with their biological and psychological needs. Direct or indirect rejection, hostility, conflict, over-infantilization, repressions, unsatisfied talents, injuries to the ego and to the feeling of self-esteem, excessive emotional and physical strain, and numerous other distorting experiences have done their evil work. These the therapist seeks to allay. Although we learn the workings of a machine through our efforts to repair a broken one, the present volume stresses the study of the development of the "normal" or healthy character. Our discussion has therefore been and will continue to be confined to it. This withdrawal from the field of pathology is made, however, with the full consciousness that only a very thin line of demarcation exists between the normal and the abnormal, between health and illness.

In its effort to survive, the human personality makes needed accommodations to its psychological environment. This is done out of necessity at first; but, if it is continued, the pattern of this accommodation becomes a permanent part of personality. A child who has been too thoroughly assimilated into the family group may find it difficult to make the necessary readjustments to a more exacting environment of other people. His demeanor in such situations will be halting and fearful. Transition from the early micro-culture of the family to the micro-cultures of extra-familial groups will not only be accompanied by emotional tremor and anxiety, but in many instances such individuals may completely withdraw from active life. On the other hand, if one has not learned to integrate with the family, the chances for a happy and constructive life in other groups are greatly reduced.

Within the limits of native dispositions, susceptibility to induction and emotional contagion are determined by early group life to a greater extent than is commonly recognized. For example, a child who has been brought up in a household where severe emotional strain permeated the atmosphere is likely to become an easy victim of emotionalism. If the same child is exposed to the influence of playmates on the street who were similarly weakened by their early life, his weakness becomes further intensified. The character of a given individual will also reflect whether earlier groups have permitted him free interaction with adults, siblings, playmates, and club members; or whether he was required to submit and to renounce his trends toward self-determinism. In other words, have the past educational influences built up his strengths or have they weakened him? Rivalry and competition are quite definitely established through group relations. A familial situation, and school and club practices that make it necessary to compete with others for recognition, love, approval, and marks permanently stamp the child's personality with a craving to outdo others. Thus, in extreme cases, the competitive drive may assume pathologic proportions; under healthful circumstances it helps to develop power.

The Primary Group Code

An interesting development in any homogeneous group of even very young children is the spontaneous emergence of a code and an organizational plan. Children as young as six or seven establish among themselves a sort of "gang" law, and a code of honorable and dishonorable behavior. We shall call this the *primary group code.* Chief among their criteria is loyalty to the group and gang. To become a "tattle tale," for example, is one of the worst crimes in this primary society. Many such self-evolved rules for behavior deal with child solidarity against adults; others originate in co-operation in order to gain control over, annoy, or tease adults; others spring from "honesty" toward each other; still others are directed against "snitching," "chiseling," "holding out," etc. Children evolve definite rules concerning private property—furniture, clothes, toys, pets, etc.—and equally strict rules for "sharing" things. One observes the same phenomenon in the play of two or more children, and sometimes even in the play of a lone child. They at once work out routines of movement, order in participation, rules for their games, and conditions for "winning."

Child-originated rules, whether in play-activity or in "moral code," are easily changed by the ready consent of the group on a suggestion from some of the participants. There is no permanence in most of these regulations: they are controlled entirely by momentary convenience, accident, and immediate advantage. Thus, the rules may change numerous times in the course of one game. There are, however, a number of *eternals* in the gang code of young children: these deal with group survival as against adults: "snitching," for example, is a crime under all circumstances.

Groupings according to friendships among young children is one of the fascinating phenomena in human behavior, and has been the subject of the present writer's observation for many years. It would seem that in early childhood, friendships are to some extent determined by those of the parents. They seem to arise largely from frequency of association, even though this be quite involuntary. A better opportunity for observing the formation of voluntary friendships is found in kindergartens, school classes, and neighborhood contacts. Our present information would seem to indicate that children's friendships are based upon primitive instinctive reactions of dominance and submission. One of the combination dominates; the other (or others) obeys. This relation seems to form the basis of adult friendships as well and, indeed, to all intimate, close, and extended successful relations, such as business partnerships and marriage.

Among very young children, unlike among adults, leadership in a larger group is not held by one person at all times. It is largely determined by who can hold the play or activity or other interest at a given moment. In any given group, however, the leadership is taken over finally by some members more often than by others. This would indicate that leadership is an original quality of personality.

Observations of children's conduct confirm the view of modern sociologists that the answer to the perennial puzzle "how man everywhere came to be what he is" lies in the interaction of two factors: (1) the original nature of man, and (2) the external conditions. There is no way at present, for example, to determine how much of the codification of young children's initial groups and friendships imitates adults, but we know that children's social patterns coincide more and more with those of adults as they grow older. It must be assumed, however, that much of children's early social behavior is as instinctive to the child as aggregations of lower animals are.

The primary group codes are important character-forming influences. For this reason modern education holds that group experience should begin for children at a very early age. These codes check overindulgence, egocentricity, and the sense of omnipotence. Submission to the group helps to modify the original personality, not only for better social adjustment but also for greater personal strength and self-control. In character education, the child has to be fortified against the tyranny of his own instincts as much as against the pressure of the outer world.

CHAPTER V

INDIVIDUAL RESOURCES

THE DOMINANCE OF SELF-LOVE

We have already pointed out that contemporary education needs to extend its base. In this chapter we shall try to examine what that will mean in terms of the individual.

The older educational psychology, derived from the study of lower animals, deals almost entirely with conditions and modes of learning. It concentrates upon habit formation, retention, memory training, and similar processes. When the educational objectives are of the acquisitive category (see Chapter III), these details of the learning process are rightfully the sole concern of the educator. If, however, the school and informal education concentrate, as they are beginning to, on the development of balanced, socialized personalities and with moral attitudes, wider and more basic areas of man's nature become involved. In addition, the prevalence of low intelligence in a large portion of the population points to a need for a less intellectual education for a large number. The strain from over-intellectualized schooling, with the accompanying sense of failure and feelings of resentment, undermine character and render many dangerously anti-social and cruel. This unconscious hostility is ready to find an outlet in mass-sadism, to which we have already referred.

At this point educators can learn a great deal from the trades. Mechanics and craftsmen know from experience that to achieve the best results it is necessary to understand the materials they use. They gauge their efforts by the nature of these materials: their inherent limitations and possibilities. Those who work with people must also realize that their efforts must conform to basic human needs, drives, urges, and desires. If the home, the school, and clubs can develop such an approach to character education, they can produce most desirable results even in a world largely unfavorable to wholesome personality development.

Some of the fundamental needs involved in education can be classified in two major groups: (1) those directed toward the self (narcissistic); and (2) those directed toward the outer world (dependence and mastery). They will be discussed in the following pages.

The chief aim of the human organism is to satisfy its appetites and strivings, largely because these satisfactions are accompanied by pleasure. In his early stages, the infant is a universe unto himself, unaware of anything but his own cravings. His only drive is to satisfy those of his appetites that are essential to his physical survival. This he does only because this satisfaction yields him relief from pain or tension. As already indicated, in normal development, this self-centeredness gradually gives way to an awareness of others.

But instead of helping the child gently through the various generic stages to assure sound development, parents and educators employ direct means of repression, prohibition, inhibition, punishment, nagging, and not infrequently cruelty. The reaction of the child to the ruthless invasion of his ego (which he interprets as being rejected) is one of resentment and hatred toward the adult and his world. Moreover, these hostile and destructive attitudes in the child toward the members of his family are the forerunners of his attitudes toward the world generally. In order that we may prevent the development of such hostile feelings, all experiences designed to inhibit native aggression should be graded in their intensity of control, thus serving as a cushion between the child's primitive nature and the culture pattern of the adult world. In this process the function of the parent, teachers, and other adults becomes that of master craftsmen who forge the raw materials of the human make-up into a mature personality devoid of the flaws that come with excessive repressions.

Even with the best methods and the most intelligent and tolerant training on the part of parents and of educators, no individual is entirely free from self-love. It may be hidden, sublimated, or re-directed; but it remains an integral part of one's personality structure. Self-love is one of the important forces with which character education must deal. Force and punishment that hurt the ego have been found only to block growth into healthy adulthood. Frustrated and humiliated children remain unhappy and difficult. They actually constitute a menace to society. Because of their resentments, they are highly anti-social as citizens and often ally themselves with pernicious elements in the community. They are destructive as friends, cruel as mates, and as parents they pass on their attitudes to their children. Such persons may become "legal" criminals, or join sadistic mobs or movements.

The Transformation of Ego-Love into Object-Love

The two phases of the love emotion that must find full satisfaction are ego-love and object-love. Both are fundamentally natural emotions and essential for human survival. But because of the comparatively weak control that the intellect exerts over some of the instincts, ego-love is often carried over to stages of growth inconsistent with progressive development. Ego-love, for example, is the greatest impediment to the development of object-love, which is the foundation for social interest and group loyalty. We have seen that ego-love cannot be repressed; it has to be gradually transformed by proper substitutions and transferences.

The educator must continue to feed the love needs of the child. The teacher, club leader, and other adults who participate in the child's various educative experiences become the recipients of love, hatred, reverence, and resentments that a child may feel for his parents, brothers, and sisters. The true educator is prepared to receive these conditioned emotions with equanimity; for, if he is skillful and understanding, he can transform these hate-attitudes into affection and trust. On the other hand, if he is loved, he helps the child to free himself of his original love objects: the members of his family. This shift of attachments away from the home is an essential part of the maturing process. Adults who in any way participate in the education of children must at all times realize that their greatest function is to meet adequately the positive as well as the negative manifestations of the love cravings of their charges. All others are secondary considerations. Parents, teachers, or club leaders cannot compensate with opportunities for activity nor with material advantages for a basic irritation with children that many of them feel. In education the love needs of children must be met, and in re-education these needs should be supplied to the children and youth whose early home life was not satisfying.

DIRECTING ACTIVITY DRIVES

Biologically, structure and function are closely related. Existence itself is based upon function and activity. Biologists have demonstrated that the normal process in nature is one of activity and not of quiescence. Constant and unceasing activity is the law in all living entities. If a state of rest occurs, these biologists say, it is only for recuperation and for further activity. Electro-magnetic studies of man have led to the startling discovery that activity in the human organism, even thought and emotions, produce measurable electrical charges. There seems to be, according to these studies, a constant discharge of energy in the different tissues of the body directed to definite channels and translated into internal and external activity.

Another law of man's constitution affecting education is that growth and exercise are correlated. Within limits, every organ grows and develops through use. Lack of exercise leads to stagnation or underdevelopment. *An organism, therefore, by the laws of its own life has a drive to function.*

An educational practice that represses these biologic drives for activity disturbs the organic balance and, as a result, distorts and mutilates personality. By providing various opportunities for activity suitable to each individual in accordance with the laws of his own growth, modern education conforms with basic biological laws and meets his essential needs. This approach to individual development takes into consideration the fact that the sequence and rate of growth are different for each individual; and therefore the choice of occupation must be left to the pupils, in order that they may engage in those that best meet their needs at any given time.

Educative activity has been described elsewhere[1] as corresponding to three general developmental phases: (1) the activity phase; (2) the utility phase; and (3) the reflective phase. The types of activity that correspond to each of these developmental phases of the child (and in many instances also of the adult) are in their order: (1) manipulative-exploratory; (2) practical-inventive; and (3) reflective-epistemonic (that is, thought and learning).

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[1] *Science in the New Education,* pp. 291-296.

In the first type of activity, the manipulative, the child has no definite purpose. He handles and plays with objects apparently just to satisfy instinctive needs and to become acquainted with his surroundings. However, this stage is of great importance even to learning. It also establishes a feeling of security in relation to the outside world. One must know the environment in order to control it.

If we carefully analyze the early stages in learning that lower animals and human adults follow, we see a striking resemblance between them and the child's unplanned behavior. Lower animals, when placed in a new environment, investigate it by sniffing, pawing, rubbing against the various objects in it. If a human adult sees new objects, he handles and tests them. If the new has to do with ideas or human relations, he "turns it over" in his mind.

The next step is usually similar to the child's practical-inventive pattern. After the first investigation, the child begins to put together the things that he finds about him; or to take them apart, breaking old things and building new ones. All this he does in order to feel power, to cause change, and to evoke response. The combination of these motives is called the creative urge. The practical-inventive type of activity is less random than the first and more differentiated. One can easily recognize in it purpose and intent; and, to varying degrees, thought processes. Banging with a hammer just to make a noise is sufficient for the child in the manipulative-exploratory stage; but in the practical-inventive phase he will use the hammer to nail together a box to hold his prized possessions. Just to move objects about the floor is characteristic of the earlier stage in development; in the second stage, objects are moved with a definite purpose and in accordance with some design or pattern. In other words, activity in this second phase has a discernible purpose or objective.

In the third stage, the child's activity displays a mental quality. Growing intellect and the preliminary experiences have developed insight and an understanding of relationships. The child investigates, tries out, explores for the purpose of getting to know and to understand. He will not only make a box, but will also try to discover the principles that govern sawing of the wood and nailing. He will try to find out the best way to make a box. In the third stage, activity centers are transferred from the manual work only to intellectual efforts. And, as growth proceeds, the reflective trends take on the patterns of adult thinking. This activity corresponds to maturity, and can be said to dominate the individual for a longer period than the preceding phases. "The manipulative-exploratory and the practical-inventive stages are largely ego-centric. . . . During these stages the child seeks to satisfy immediate organic interests that give him pleasure. Self-initiated activity is accompanied by a feeling of pleasure. . . . This activity, to be pleasurable, must also be successful (not involving frustration) and appropriate to the individual's capacities and powers."[2] Other characteristics of educative activity are "patterns of activity."[3] They include these stages: (1) observation (acclimatization); (2) manipulation; (3) assembling; and (4) conveying.

The orderly development of the child's and the adult's personality requires that activity follow, as far as possible, the outlines above, because such activity conforms with development, with growing ability, and therefore also with interest. When the laws of growth are adhered to, power is developed and thus some of the major conditions for character training are met. Education must provide a multitude of possibilities for expressing interest, and must offer opportunities for mobilizing and exerting power in many media and diverse situations. Playrooms, shops, art rooms, studios, music rooms, dancing halls, science laboratories, libraries, and other workrooms form the backbone of a good school or center.[4] A good education recognizes that, at an early age, children's interests are best expressed in manual activities, in muscular function, and in aesthetic expression; and that these interests are gradually transformed into reflective or intellectual channels, requiring books, classes, study, discussion, research. We must emphasize again that the outstanding characteristic of the new education is pupil activity and initiative; for in activity are power and interest expressed to their highest pitch. But to be of such dynamic effect, activity must be suitable to the individual or to the group, and it must also be as far as possible originated and carried out in a group situation.

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[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 293-4.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 307.

[4] For a full discussion of this type of educative work with illustrations from records, see Slavson, S. R., *Creative Group Education:* Chapter V on Group Discussions; Chapter VI on Arts and Crafts; Chapter VII on Art; Chapter VIII on Music and the Dance; Chapter IX on Creative Dramatics and Playwriting; Chapter X on Creative Writing; Chapter XI on Nature Study and Science; Chapter XII on Trips and Excursions; Chapter XIII on Parties; etc.

A good education emphasizes activity on the part of the learner as contrasted with the "sitting-down" classroom, or club, in which the adult dominates the situation. A sense of social responsibility has its roots in self-determination in childhood. These principles have profound application for character education both in the classroom and in informal groups. The teacher-dominated techniques of the traditional classroom, and leader-determined club programs, are contrary to the needs of childhood and of social dynamism. To gain most from a group experience, manual, emotional, aesthetic, and social activity should be substituted for routine; and individual creativity for rote learning or rote programs.

A progressive plan of education for character training and for social participation, therefore, should represent the interests of individuals; it should be a collective expression of the learner's or member's desires and needs. A creatively conducted class or group is hospitable to the individual's efforts, and its members grow appreciative of each other's talents and contributions. The ability to appreciate the work of others and to possess the generosity to praise it are indicative of a truly social feeling.

Educative activity satisfies the aggressive drives of the infant and child, and transforms them into constructive and social effort. Native aggressiveness is discharged, in children, as a direct attack upon things and people; but to make group life possible it is necessary that aggression be channelled and transformed. Thus, the work of the scientist, the inventor, the investigator, and promoter is fundamentally the expression in adult and more socially desirable forms of the original aggressive drives of the child. If we repress these early drives, they are transformed into anxiety, hostility, and even more serious mental disturbances. Another value of educative activity lies in the fact that it releases and redirects trends that would otherwise make for cruelty and aggression. In this respect it is irrevocably bound up with wholesome character formation.

THE VALUE OF "SUCCESS"

Failure is a form of ego frustration. It minimizes one's self-esteem and sets up feelings of anxiety and guilt. On the other hand, a feeling of success (achieving the objectives toward which energy and purpose have been directed) mobilizes energy, and stimulates further activity and effort. The feelings aroused by successful achievement and the resulting sense of security affect metabolism favorably, which in turn enhances the capacity of the body to generate energy. Contrariwise, failure to realize ambitions or to reach objectives slows up the metabolic process and lowers the energy-producing powers.

Success has a twofold meaning. The term can be employed in its social connotation, or in its organic significance. In its social usage it means to achieve a socially approved status; to rise to a level honored, respected, or appreciated. In its organic implications, success means to attain those states of being that are most desirable for the individual and that establish balance among the various psycho-organic tensions.

At times these two aspects of success coincide. Very frequently, however, they are opposed to each other. Success, in its social meaning, is often achieved at the cost of either mental or physical health. Not infrequently one sacrifices both his health and his mental integrity to his ambitions. An excessive drive toward success is a sign of the neurotic, who suffers from inferiority feelings and anxiety. On the other hand, constructive and useful accomplishment yields pleasure, and at the same time provides a better criterion for life. To achieve what one sets out to do satisfies the ego, power needs, and self-esteem; and it brings group admiration. One of the essentials for developing wholesome personality and constructive character is a balanced attitude toward success. Practices still prevalent in schools, Sunday schools, clubs, and centers that by means of marks, recognitions, and emoluments, emphasize failure, are inconsistent with mental health, and with the needs for the social development of the child's personality. Differences in the original natures of individuals and in the order and the rate of their development in physical, intellectual, and moral powers make comparisons involving these differences dangerous in education.[5]

SELF-DETERMINATION

Among the most intense and most nearly universal strivings is the desire for self-determination. On the one hand, the child wishes to remain in the helpless state of early infancy and to live the effortless life of that period; on the other, his growing powers propel him to undertake a life of exertion and effort. He spontaneously begins to walk, to manipulate, to assemble, to attack, and increasingly to order his life. He develops a will. The drive for self-determination has as its purpose self-fulfilment; for every individual carries within himself these drives. The natural by-product of development is self-reliance. The striving for independence and self-assertion is further enhanced by the primary group *mores* of the child's contemporaries. These lay down certain demands upon him as a condition of acceptance by his own group. Obvious and striking undermaturity calls forth derision, expressed by such terms as "baby," "sissy," etc.

Experience in the home, school, and voluntary group can aid character training by aiding the process of self-determination and by weaning the child from his early dependence upon adults. The method of activity, which permits initiative, originality, investigation, and constructive aggression, is a suitable aid in this direction. It provides the child experiences and growth away from dependence toward self-determination. However, here, too, growth comes through identifications with and attachments to persons other than the immediate family and in an ever widening circle.

Apart from physiological considerations, forced activity or attention for prolonged periods violates the natural trend for self-determination. Resentment and hostility are therefore set up. The person who restrains and represses the striving for self-determination is the oppressor, to be hated and destroyed. If this continues for a long period or becomes a rule of life, the child's will is organized for hostility and active opposition to the external world. This is quite natural; for every act on the part of someone in power that blocks one carries with it humiliation. Resentment and humiliation are greatly reduced or entirely eliminated where the relation of two persons involved is one of complete equality or friendship: i.e., in the absence of a sense of power on the part of one and subjugation on the part of the other. The wills of the imposer and the imposed then coalesce, which can be accomplished only when the relation of the two is one of friendship and mutual acceptance. It is therefore necessary for the parent, teacher, club leader, or anyone else who is in relation of control or power over others first to have himself accepted as a person before he can function constructively in the lives of his charges.

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[5] For a more detailed discussion of this matter, see "Principles of Graded Reality," and "Differential Development," Slavson, S. R., *Creative Group Education,* p. 54.

Monotony and the Need for New Experiences

To a healthy organism monotony is among the most painful experiences; for change in stimuli is essential for maintaining inner and outer balance. Any part of the body, if employed too consistently or for too long periods, produces fatigue and tension. Tension always sets up compensatory activity, which is aimed to relieve it. This process is only one of many that are constantly going on to establish somatic as well as psychological balance. Not infrequently the impulse to escape the irritations set up by monotony expresses itself through the simple mechanism of conversion. When the physiological and psychological pressures grow intense, they may discharge along avenues of least resistance, which are not appropriate for the specific situation and are often harmful; but they do serve the immediate needs of organic balance. Loss of temper is a case in point. Temper seldom if ever clarifies a situation. It does, however, give relief to the one who gives in to it. For this reason, the reaction to monotony, restraint, repression, or forceful inhibition is often violent. An observer may be puzzled by behavior that seems to him disconnected, ineffective, and perhaps even irrational. When the need for balancing inner pressures becomes great enough, the resulting behavior frequently has no relation to the situation. It has nothing to do with efficiency, ethics, or culture.

Imposed monotony and a lack of adequate variety of experiences *disintegrate* personality. In an integrated person, impulse and act are closely related: one is a logical and efficient expression of the other. In addition, in such a person impulses are under control. "Nature drives by two reins, and one is a check rein." We have seen how, under excessive repression, not only is the impulse uncontrolled, but also the connection between the impulse and behavior is destroyed (as in the instance of loss of temper), so that general psychological havoc sets in.

To prevent such a disorganization within the personality, education must provide channels for a great variety of expression, activity, and experience in graded complexity, and in keeping with differences in individual natures and in rate of development. The monotony and repression of the traditional classroom greatly contribute to disorganization of personality, and cause much anti-social or unsocial behavior. Under the conditions of the old schooling and the resulting irritability, the natural hostility of youth and children breaks through the still weak controls.

The Ego Drives and Character Integration

If education is to be made compatible with child nature, it is necessary that pupils have opportunities to gratify their ego drives and their assertiveness as well. As already indicated, progressive development of personality requires adequate expression of basic drives as well as of infant and child impulses. Neither repressing these nor fostering them by pampering and excessive ease can lead to wholesome growth. If the child is not faced with sufficient difficulties and stresses, his infantile dependence and helplessness are carried over into later stages and interfere with effective function and self-fulfilment. On the other hand, if his childishness is not fully expressed, the repressed components become intertwined in the personality structure of the adult, frequently with serious results.

In an education where provision is made for pupils to deal with difficulties, solve problems successfully and find expression in creative endeavor, not only are the egoistic trends satisfied, but maturity is aided as well. Power drives, although important and valuable, must be educated. At first they are directed toward things and other persons and are later changed into more constructive impulses. A socialized personality has learned to sublimate and transform mastery drives from the ego stage to the group stage, which can be done only through orderly maturity and interaction with groups. To repeat: total educational experience must be such as to give expression to the essential infantile, self-indulgent, and power trends; but at the same time to build upon these foundations the structure of an adult personality. Thus self-assertion, self-expression, self-esteem, power, the need for recognition, must be made tools for social and group action rather than remain means for self-gratification. The path to sociality runs through egoicity. The psychologic forces that operate here are described later in this chapter.

What has been said here of the school is equally true of the family, center, club, and gymnasium. The self-centeredness of the child must be accepted in the family as an inevitable and wholesome phase, *but only as a phase*. Particularly is it essential to develop adequately aggressive trends for life in a capitalist-competitive culture. If we define mental health as efficient adjustment to the surrounding world, it is necessary that we develop the traits that make possible this adjustment, which in modern society is made largely on the basis of individual advantage. Although civilization can survive only when selfishness is curbed or at least partially transformed into social motives, selfishness cannot be entirely eliminated. Thus, a family pattern or a social doctrine that imposes self-effacement upon children is unsuitable both for the needs of the modern world and for wholesome growth. On the other hand, excessive assertiveness and arrogance cannot be tolerated. There must be balance between the two.

Self-reliance, and especially mental aggressiveness, which such an education would produce, is also important in order to develop resistance to over-ready acceptance of, and submission to, a demagogue. Blind following is an outcome of intellectual and emotional self-effacement, which can be to a considerable extent started in the family and later nurtured in the school and in leisure-time informal education. Recreation, which must be viewed in the light of modern needs as an integral part of the educative life, must be redefined in terms of those needs, which we have emphasized at various points in preceding pages. In order to free the child from domination and to prepare him for intellectual and emotional self-reliance, it is necessary that recreation divest itself of formality, organizational emphasis, and adult assertiveness. Children and young people must here, as well as at other points of their education, participate in initiating activity and in conducting the institutions and centers to the extent of their maturity and readiness for such co-operation. It is through such guided assertion and participation that the child matures.

Resistance, Conflict, and Will

Critics of the new education frequently assail it on the grounds that it is a pampering and "sissifying" kind of education. They assert that to permit the child to do whatever he pleases in a manner that suits his fancy is a form of indulgence detrimental to the development of character. Character, they say, is an outcome of struggle against vicissitudes. To spare the child from stress is a sure way to weaken him. As a result, he is said to become less effective and less potent to cope with reality. Reality, these critics say, must be thrust upon the child at the earliest possible moment so as to force him into making the necessary adjustments to the world. Hence what the child needs is discipline. He must learn to bend to the will of his elders; he has to accept frustrations and denial.

It will be quite evident to the reader that these statements are at variance with the point of view promulgated in this volume. However, we shall have to emphasize sharply that there is no difference in aims between these fundamentalists in education and the more liberal-minded. Both agree that the aim of education is to prepare for coping with problems and vicissitudes; that one must learn to bend his will to others, and especially to the group; and that strength is engendered through overcoming resistance. In fact, the last point has been made a number of times in preceding pages, and the importance of shedding egocentricity for socially-motivated impulses has been stressed as frequently. The point of difference between the two opposing views does not lie in objectives, but in method and procedure.

The old view and the new are really at loggerheads only as to method. The former interprets reality in terms of adult will and adult power. It holds that growth in the child occurs only as a result of his accommodations to the adults who are engaged in his education: parents, nurses, teachers. The new view is that the realities of the child are immeasurably different from those of the adult. To curtsy and to say "thank you" is a most unrealistic kind of performance to a child of six; but to break the toy engine apart to see what is inside it is a most imperative need at that age. The old method would enforce the former, and prohibit the latter. The new outlook on these two situations is that the child *must* learn to curtsy and to say "thank you"; but that these can be postponed until a later date, when the youngster can understand the meaning and purpose of these acts. But taking the engine apart is of supreme importance. Curiosity toward one's environment must precede social amenities. It is all a matter of sequence.

Resistance as a condition of growth is equally the concern of the new formal and informal educator. It is for this reason that he surrounds the child first with physical objects and later with other children and with adults that call forth in him manual and mental activity. It is inevitable that as soon as the child begins to act with and against his environment, he meets with resistance. This resistance may be offered by materials or by other humans. Cutting a piece of wood, making an ashtray, painting a picture, struggling for the possession of a tool or for supremacy and recognition with others: these are all involving resistance situations. The realities of the *child's* world (not the adult's) constantly force themselves upon his infantile unorganized will. There is plenty of resistance to overcome; there are numerous accommodations to be made.

In the midst of these difficulties and stresses, childish though they are, there is only one certainty that the pupil must have: the adult's full acceptance of him. Whatever stresses he may undergo through his interaction with the world, there is one certain security: the fundamental faith in him and understanding of his needs and vagaries by the adults—parents, nurses, teachers, and leaders. Reinforced with the assurance of this resource he can face many strains and stresses, deprivations and punishments. Now, in the old education the resistance to the child came from these very adults. It was they who dominated and thwarted. The irrationalities, inevitable and inherent to childhood, were little tolerated. Little leeway was given to the unformed and groping personality. Adult *mores* and restraints were directly and speedily applied, in the hope that the outer sanctions would be transformed into inner sanctions. Instead, more often than not, the children became hostile and resentful.

The new education, on the other hand, employs the adult as a reserve of security and self-confidence; and creates situations that test the child in classroom and club. Thus the resistance that each must experience in order that he may grow strong comes from the environment and from his interactivity with other children and adults rather than from repressive domination. The adult keeps in mind that repression, if exerted beyond a definite point, weakens instead of strengthening inner power because it intensifies submission and self-effacement. In the new education, as in the old, the adult plays the rôle of inhibitor and guide; but he does so now only after satisfactory relations have been established. Instead of being an inhibitor, he is a regulative principle—a pattern after which the child willingly fashions himself.

Experiencing resistance and developing initiative, although good in themselves for life in our culture, may be dangerously disorganizing if not directed into constructive channels. It is one thing to experience resistance and another to make this experience of value. External pressure and frustration may set up emotions that will turn into hostility and hatred. These feelings of resentment very frequently cause the total organization of the will to become hostile, and the individual to spend his entire life fighting real and imaginary enemies. His normal reaction to people activates their latent hostilities, and he makes every step in his life a difficult and unhappy one. Care must be taken in education that the resistances and frustrations do not arouse negative emotions. Aggression must have a social purpose and not become an end in itself. A purpose, such as a creative enterprise, a social movement, or any other undertaking, channels the flow of energy; and integrates the personality toward an aim. Exercising one's aggressiveness toward people at random, just because there is inner pressure, is a sure sign of serious personality disturbance. Education's function is to prevent this.

As to the training of the will, not much need be said in any discussion concerned with the values of mental hygiene. The will is not a special faculty of the organism, which can be trained or neglected. The will is the summation of all the states—physical, intellectual, and emotional. It is the capacity to focus the inner powers and drives upon an objective. At no point in the body-mind must there be failure of energy. A man's will is as strong as the weakest component of his personality. It can be undermined by fears, uncertainties, and doubt; by lack of intellectual recognition of the elements involved in a situation as well as by inadequate physical resources. The will cannot, therefore, be trained directly. If only the various aspects of the personality that are integrated into the will are wholesome and adequate, one need not concern himself with the will as such. Wholesome bodily growth, intellectual development, and emotional stability are the matters to which parent and educators need turn their attention. Then the will can be trusted to take care of itself.

Redirecting Hatred

Chief among the neglected areas of character education is man's hostility, which is tied up with his aggressiveness. We have seen that in civilized man this is converted into socially acceptable and useful forms: science is aggression against nature; curiosity, aggression against environment; competition is men's aggression against one another; humor is subtle, verbal aggression against intimates, and satire against enemies.

Although unrefined aggressiveness is among the greatest sources of tragedy (as in war, exploitation, possessiveness, domination), man's civilization and culture are an outcome of it. Besides, if we wish to approach the problem of character and personality realistically, we cannot defeat our purpose by wishful thinking. Along with other animals, man is a hostile and cruel animal. His cruelty has long been recognized by inspired leaders. Hence religions, ethics, and morals were set up; laws, regulations, controls, and punishments evolved; love, justice, honesty, and various other virtues emphasized—all to counteract the native cruelty of man.

Here, too, in its haste and ignorance, the group (the body politic) substituted direct means for the indirect path of education. The child is taught by home, church, school, and the cultural attitudes to love and to be good. He is treated as though there were no negatives in his make-up—as though he were a positive social entity. All that is necessary, it has been assumed, is to "develop" in him these qualities. We ignore the hate-drives inherent in man's "good" personality.

This wilfully blind approach has not eliminated the problem, however. Hate, cruelty, and tyranny make themselves felt in myriad ways in personal relations and in group life. The wide-spread cruelty of parents to children and of children to parents, and the refinements in which it exhibits itself, make one shudder. Sibling-rivalry, the jealousy of brothers and sisters, is a universal emotion. Everyone has "personal enemies" and is an enemy to more people than he cares to admit. Envy and jealousy are rife. Economic exploitation, with its attendant misery and degradation, does not move many. Innumerable petty rivalries, gossip, defamation, and uncalled-for injuries that we visit directly and indirectly upon our associates, friends, relatives, and neighbors go unnoticed. They have been accepted as *normal* phenomena in our lives. Group hatred flares up in "the class-struggle," in religious and racial discrimination, in lynchings, and in military wars.

Observations of children's behavior in nurseries and kindergartens, and of the play of older boys and girls, adolescents and youth, show the unmistakable motives of hostility and rivalry, hidden though they may be. Much of this hostility is repressed in civilized man. A good part of it is converted into acceptable channels: competitive sports, strikes, protests, competition, reading about murders and lynchings, reading sadistic literature. Some of it is sublimated into useful expressions, such as dissection, experimentation on man and lower animals, surgery, and similar occupations.

But these vicarious satisfactions are not always sufficient. In some persons (whose powers to sublimate primary drives are low or who have not had adequate educational influences) more direct discharge occurs. Fist fights, beating of wives and children, rape, murder, and suicide—a form of inverted murder—become necessary. But the most satisfying expression of sadism is group sadism. Here one receives approval and applause for cruel acts. To be a member of a lynching party, to participate in persecuting a minority with others, or to be a soldier in a war does not arouse guilt and pangs of conscience. Since many others are involved, the acts have group approval. They become right. There is no better way of rallying masses of people than by giving them a *center of hatred.* Of this the modern demagogues and dictators have made capital more than ever before, though the fact was known and utilized throughout history, long before "applied psychology" was invented.

One of the great evils of hatred and cruelty is that society does not allow their fulfilment. Love is permitted and can be fulfilled: one can be charitable, self-sacrificing, be of service to people, share with them. Not so with hatred. Its fulfilment means injury or death to its object. Society does not countenance it, and it must therefore be suppressed: i.e., turned into a smouldering, never-ceasing pressure, which often gains in strength and impetus. In some instances the cumulative intensity of hostility grows so as to drive one to murder or insanity.

Character education, with its mental hygiene approach, cannot shut its eyes to this situation. An education that aims at wholesome personality must recognize and devise means for remedying it. One of these means is the activity program.

In the course of free activity, innumerable opportunities arise to express direct aggression through work with materials—building, constructing, and destroying. There are also opportunities for personal conflicts, fights, and quarrels, when necessary. Aggression is trained to yield satisfaction through constructive achievement. We consider this one of the most important values of activity education, although it is a value that is hardly being mentioned among educators. Free communication and interplay among pupils arise here. Co-operation and mutuality for a common purpose constantly come to the fore. These are the ways by which hostility is converted into friendliness; for if one discovers that other people can be of help and give one satisfactions and recognition, he develops a kindlier feeling toward them. Curiosity can also be used to the same end. Some investigators have found that the dissection of animals helps children become more kindly toward living animals. "The children observed," declares Dr. Susan Isaacs, "showed greater sympathy with living animals, and more consistent care, after they had 'looked inside' the dead ones, and fewer lapses into experimental cruelty."[6]

Education must find means to convert power and cruelty drives into intellectual curiosity. The best means is satisfying activity in a social environment. Certainly, when we recognize the nature of curiosity as conversion of aggression, we must come to this conclusion.[7] The type of education, in and out of the home, must therefore be one of active participation in group situations. This helps the individual child to evolve controls and to discover means for diverting his original hostile trends into acceptable forms.

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[6] *Intellectual Growth in Young Children.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1930, pp. 165-6.

There is, however, a less evident, though the strongest, instrument for controlling hostility and cruelty. This is personal happiness. Happy people are not usually cruel. The satisfied and creative persons are less hostile than the repressed, the frustrated, and the disgruntled. The latter are irritable and uncontrolled. They "let off steam" by attacking everyone and everything around them. There are physiological as well as psychological reasons for this. If the total environment aids in maintaining harmony within the personality, that harmony also "runs over" into oneness with the environment. Education, and life generally, must therefore give people satisfaction and peace.

The fourth way in which native cruelty can be controlled is through understanding. To understand oneself and one's impulses is half the solution. A truly evolved person is one who can confront himself with his own faults and shortcomings. Self-analysis, provided it does not become introspection, is very valuable. An understanding of ourselves may not help us love others more intensely, but at least it is sure to make us hate with greater discrimination.

The Drives for Mastery

Among the chief ego drives of the child are those of *self-indulgence* and of *mastery*. In the following section we shall discuss a group of the latter that bear directly upon informal education and character.

1. *The pursuit tendency* is among the most common in animals. Man probably inherited it as a part of his animal nature, which is organized for flight and pursuit. Since flight and pursuit are so closely related to survival, they are deeply in-

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[7] For further discussion of this, see Isaacs, Susan, *ibid.;* and Slavson and Speer's *Science in the New Education,* pp. 197-200.

grained in the constitution of lower animals as well as of man. In man the tendency has psychological roots as well, and much of his intellectual and social effort can be considered as an extension of it. "The big game hunter, the South Pole explorer, the microbe hunter, and the chemical analyst are carrying on activities that are similar in all their elements to the baby's crawling after the cat, or the hide-and-seek games of older boys and girls."[8] The tendency is evident in all child behavior and in the play and serious activities of animals. Pursuit being one of the primary drives of the child, his education must provide for exploration, invention, investigation, and reflection. To frustrate these at any point means to retard general development.

2. *The exploratory tendency* is one form of the pursuit tendency and, being needed for survival, is found among lower animals as well as in the human species. The animal explores his environment in order to find out whether it holds security and pleasure for him, or danger. For this reason animals prowl, sniff, and generally investigate their immediate surroundings. In man, this tendency has its obvious psychological counterpart, which manifests itself in numerous forms of scientific, philosophical, and artistic effort.

3. *The drive to discovery,* which is so prevalent among children, is a more dynamic expression of the exploratory tendency. The need for and the pleasure derived from discovering is a general human characteristic, but is not present in lower animals. The latter stop at *exploration,* which does not have the planned purpose and appreciation of results that discovery has. Discovery is undoubtedly associated with attaining security and satisfaction of some of the ego emotions. It is achieved through effort; it increases power over environment and therefore enhances security. The pleasure thus derived may be the motive for the work of the investigator, hunter, discoverer and researcher; and it has basic biological and anthropological significance. It satisfies both the primary drives of the individual (already described in this chapter) and the survival needs of the group. But we must repeat: These efforts must be free from childish egotism if they are to be socially useful.

The activity program in the classroom and in the club aims at aiding the individual to discover for himself; the stage is set for him to come upon facts, relations, and interests through his own work and thought. In the words of Professor Rexford G. Tugwell: "Old pedagogical methods are out of date. We know now that a student is not a vessel into which refined and clarified wisdom may be poured. Rather, a great deal of clarifying and refining must be done to the student's mind. Today the newer methods of education must respect the intelligence of the students quite as highly as they respect the intelligence of the teachers. These methods consist concretely of constructing typical situations in which the minds of the students are put to it to find solutions. The hope is that the student then will leap at suggestions for which his mind has already groped, and so see their significance."

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[8] *Science in the New Education,* p. 142.

In a school for personality development pupils must be led *to discover the idea of discovery*. Intellectual exploration can be as thrilling to man as physical exploration.

4. *Curiosity* may be considered as an extension of simple exploration to a purely intellectual level; it is largely instinctive because it aids in understanding environment and as a protection against danger. As a biological phenomenon, curiosity is among the chief impulses for educative activity. Although its beginnings are crude, as it confines itself to the material and physical environment in its later developments it forms the foundation for scientific and cultural effort. A good education fosters curiosity; but one that concerns itself only with the hurried learning of facts diminishes the exploratory and discovery tendencies, thereby checking mental initiative and originality. Curiosity can be sharpened if opportunities are provided for the child to examine facts and ideas thoroughly, and to investigate and evaluate them. All good education utilizes curiosity at all points where it makes its appearance: in shopwork, art, the sciences, personal problems, social and economic questions. Since curiosity is a dynamic urge and essential to a rich and full life, it must have full scope in an enlightened education.

5. "*The drive-to-be-the-cause* is in a sense an extension of the power drive. . . . It has, however, additional factors and is actuated by different motives. *The power drive originates in the will to control; the drive-to-be-the-cause is a manifestation of the will to create.* An analysis of children's interests unchecked

by adult inhibitions and supervision indicates that children engage in activities for long periods of time with no apparent purpose other than the desire to be the *cause* (agent of effect). This drive explains much that is otherwise enigmatic in human behavior. The excessive expenditure of effort on the part of children, as well as of adults, and some of their irrational behavior, often arise from this primitive drive. The business man's satisfaction in expanding his establishment, the constructor's delight in the finished building, the author's satisfaction with his book, and the artist's pleasure in the finished painting or statue, are rooted, in the drive-to-be-the-cause. Children's play and activities often apparently meaningless and purposeless, assume significance when viewed in the light of this drive."[9] This drive is closely related to the need for success, and because of its deep association with aggression, power, self-esteem, and other similar ego-needs, should be given full expression. Initiative, origination, exploration and, above all, self-reliance, therefore, become features in the education for character. The entire methodology of schools and recreation must be in consonance with the dynamism of the human personality, which tends to find expression in the drive-to-be-the-cause.

6. *The creative urge.* Among the chief urges inherent in man is the impulse to reorganize his environment and to recombine elements within it. The child's drives to manipulate, assemble, and convey; the inventor's rearrangements of gears, pulleys, and levers to produce a new machine; the artist's recombination of pigments, colors, and forms; the builder's and architect's inter-relating of steel, concrete, and bricks—all emanate from one source: the creative, or the *origination urge.* It is not given to all to create new forms in the arts or new concepts in thought; but the impulse to construct, to rearrange, to reproduce is universal. Even if the original is not entirely new, it nevertheless represents new ways of employing already existing media and designs. This is, generally speaking, the creative impulse. For educational purpose, newness is not so important as originality. Newness is more sensational and more impressive, but originality, too, aids personality development, because emotion, imagination, powers, skills, and thought are vitally engaged

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[9] *Op. cit.,* pp. 140-141.

in it. The urge to create is one with the urge for self-fulfilment. "It is the impelling desire to translate an experience, a fleeting inner image, into outward form; to leave a significant personal impress upon material; to convey a feeling or define a meaning that has lived before only in imagination. This is the creative artist at work, and this is the child at play."[10]

If we aim to educate the total personality, we must recognize that creativity occurs on various levels: the sensational (infantile), the aesthetic, the muscular, the intellectual, and the social levels. Parenthood and friendship are at least as creative as painting and poetry. Social reform requires as much imagination as story writing. Thus creativity can be repressed on all these levels, and a good education would seek to reawaken them wherever it occurs. It must teach friendship as well as music, for example.

The frustration of the impulse for original work and thought is a serious check upon growth. Pupils must be hampered as little as possible in their intellectual efforts. They should be encouraged to explore, test, and discard—but they must also become appreciative and friendly-minded. To be sure, the teacher or group leader may challenge conclusions and stimulate a closer scrutiny of ideas; but he should do this in a spirit of inquiry, without discouraging self-evolved views, and with respect for opinion and originality. With the growing appreciation of individual predilections, with the multiplicity of human nature, and with an increasingly complex culture, originality can find myriads of avenues and media for expression.

THE DEPENDENCE TRENDS (SOCIAL)

The social tendencies described so far are closely related to the ego drives. It will be noted that their direction is toward the external—the environment, its use and transformation. These tendencies arise from man's egoic nature and his desire for pleasure. The mastery drives as exemplified by pursuit, exploration, the drive-to-be-the-cause, and origination stem from the aggressive trends of the child and his early biological needs. In all aggression the biologic self predominates; it is the needs of this self that impel action.

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[10] *The Child-Centered School,* by Rugg and Shumaker, Yonkers-on-Hudson, The World Book Company, 1928, p. 227.

There is, however, a small group of tendencies in the human *psyche* that are definitely and basically social in their nature though they, too, may arise from the ego. These tendencies concern themselves with other persons. We have designated these as the collective group of the *allotropic* trends, for they cause the individual to be sensitive to, and to depend upon, others. A few of these are briefly described in the following pages.

1. THE NEED FOR IDENTIFICATION.

During the development of the human personality from infancy to maturity, there occur a series of identifications with various individuals in the environment. The child, in his striving for power and recognition and often for deeper psychological reasons (as in the Oedipus situation), identifies himself with another person, usually the parent of the same sex. Through this identification he assumes in his own estimation the powers and virtues of that adult, thereby minimizing the feeling of inferiority and inadequacy that he suffers through his weakness and smallness. To become like the adult means to become endowed with the characteristics that the child covets, and that may give him the privileges and rights denied to him but enjoyed by the adult.

Identification is not limited to parents alone. Parent substitutes—older siblings, nurses, grandparents, uncles and aunts, teachers, policemen, historical personages, fictional heroes and other such people—serve as objects of identification. These models are used by education and culture to check the child's anarchic trends (better known as "hero worship"), and are supplied to him as the objects of identification at different stages of maturing. In orderly and wholesome development these objects are appropriate to the stage of growth. In cases of backward development, identifications may be either too infantile, or they may be fantastic in their grandeur.

2. FIXATIONS.

The love and jealousy trends of the child cause him to adopt one of his parents, usually of the opposite sex, as the recipient of his affection. As the stage of self-love is passed, the child seeks an object for his love. This object naturally is chosen from those persons who are nearest to him and who have been most intimately involved in gratifying his needs and thereby yielded him pleasures. The selection, therefore, falls to the mother or her substitute, but can be later extended to or substituted by other persons. As already stated, the most common among the later fixation objects is the parent of the opposite sex. Fixations occur also upon such persons as teachers, or other idealized individuals. If continued too long or too intensely, these emotional ties grow undesirable and even dangerous.

3. THE COLLECTIVE TENDENCY.

As far as is known, this tendency is the basis for social living. It appears in the child at a fairly early age, and persists throughout life. This tendency has long been known under various names, such as the "gregarious" or "herd" instinct. It is the force that leads people and also animals and still lower forms of life to group themselves either permanently or for special occasions, such as breeding or self-protection. All human association as well as society itself is probably based upon it. Voluntary groupings can be considered as an expression of this tendency; and education for character in the club and classroom must therefore be based upon *collective* relationships. Observation of very young children confirms the belief that they are motivated by an undifferentiated collective tendency. It is because of the existence of this trend that primary and other groups are among the most common occurrences in primitive and civilized society.

To be a member of a group is pleasurable because the individual derives through it some fundamental needs of a social nature. Among those are: security, friendship, admiration, stimulation to activity, participation. When these conditions and advantages are either checked or interfered with, the group loses its vitality and gradually disintegrates. Cliques that often develop in groups, because of contesting leadership on the part of some members, interfere with the operation of the collective tendency. With the prime motive checked, the group soon loses its cohesiveness. Bickerings, contests, and cross-purposes that result soon become distasteful. The reason is that one of the basic needs of the human personality is not satisfied: namely, the collective tendency, which should be utilized in education to extend social interest and friendships within and beyond the immediate group. Projects and activities that involve more than one group are highly desirable for social development. Experience with this plan indicates that boys and girls find such group co-activity both pleasant and valuable.

4. THE COMMUNICATION DRIVE.

Communication is also an animal characteristic that has been highly developed in man. Conveying is one of the most common patterns of child behavior, manifesting itself in such forms as dragging objects and carrying things about. The preference for movable toys—wagons, automobiles, animals on wheels, moving furniture, and other household objects; interest in all moving objects of travel and in streams, hose and water; pouring liquids and sand—are all manifestations of this tendency. These conveying patterns are employed in manual work and in education. Its derivative, communication, is the social aspect of the drive. To communicate is one of the prime necessities of anthropoids and of man. Restrictions upon it give rise to morbid states and often to mental unbalance. This fact is recognized in primitive practices and in modern penology, where solitary confinement is considered the most drastic punishment. Social ostracism is a form of cutting off communication. Culture is based upon communication among contemporaries and succeeding generations, and the most effective social control arises from the control of communication, and the free expression of views, opinions, and criticism.

In dynamic education, whether in classroom or club, free communication among the constituents of these groups is encouraged. Observation of such groups indicates that conversation, interchange of ideas and experiences, suggestions, mutual help, small-group projects constantly arise in free-relationship groups. The native social impulse to communicate asserts itself whenever it is allowed, and should be fully utilized in character education. Inhibition or undue control of the communicative drive or the collective tendency not only causes a problem-creating repression but checks character growth and social development.

CHAPTER VI

CORRECTIVE EFFORTS

SOME DISTORTIVE FORCES

It is not possible in modern life to meet the needs of personality so fully as to achieve perfect balance and health. It is inevitable that in the course of growth physical, emotional, and intellectual development will be to some degree inhibited or distorted. All one can attempt to do is to reduce the impact of these forces, to lighten the degree of severity, and to prevent serious injuries to the personality.

The home, the playground, and the school; relatives, friends, and strangers—all have their share in producing undesirable strains and frustrations. Direct prohibitions and inhibitive influences of the many forces in the various cultures to which the child is exposed are constantly at work to impair personality. Malnutrition, the strain in the home resulting from economic conditions, from emotional imbalance among the members of the family, and the unavoidable limitations to activity and power drives are among the major sources of problems. Rejection, exploitation, restrictions, deprivations, intimidations, overindulgences, are among the emotional relations and attitudes in the family, in the school, and in the larger world that help to confuse life for the evolving child. The ever-growing anxiety about joblessness and one's future cause much mental stress to the young. There are numerous forces that produce "starved longings, unrealized desires, overflowing animal spirits without legitimate outlet, unbalanced natures destitute of training in self-control, impoverished aspirations."

THE MENTAL HYGIENE APPROACH

"Progressive schools" have long been in the forefront of the mental hygiene movement. They were among the first to recognize the importance to the child of activity and of creative effort in an atmosphere of comparative freedom. The progressive educator recognizes the basic nature and needs of the child, and strives to satisfy them through the school. He is ever inspired by a deep-rooted respect for his pupils' personalities. Mental health requires that the psycho-organic needs and strivings are met and satisfied. Harmonious development of all the elements of personality is assured when these conditions are met. In a state of complete mental health no permanent strain and tension exist in any area of the body-mind; and when difficulties do arise, as a result of outer stress, inner balance is easily reestablished. Howard Becker defines mental health as "the adjustment of human beings to themselves and the world at large with a maximum of personal and social effectiveness and satisfactions. The highest degree of positive mental health permits the person to realize the greatest success which his capabilities will permit, together with the maximum of satisfaction to himself and the social order and a minimum of friction and tension. This means that mental health is not merely the absence of ill-health nor mere efficiency and contentment; neither is it solely the cheerful acceptance of the rules of the game. Mental health implies a degree of well-being in which the person is not preoccupied with unsatisfied tensions, does not manifest gross forms of socially inadequate or objectionable behavior, and maintains himself intellectually and emotionally in all environments and situations that do not bring about crises too intense or frequent to be beyond the adjustive power of human beings and that are not so rigid or over-authoritative that personality is inevitably warped.

"The use in the above definition of such words as 'success,' 'satisfaction,' 'adjustment,' 'social order,' and 'objectionable' should not be interpreted in such a way as to identify mental health with passive conformity. Even with a considerable degree of maladjustment a person may be socially useful; variants sometimes introduce valuable innovations. Moreover, successful adaptation to life implies a successful and well-adapted social order; nothing can be more fallacious than the interpretation of mental health in strictly individualistic terms. Positive mental health is but the personal aspect of a society in which personal and social values are in right relation to each other and are attainable by everyone within the limits of his biological capacities."[1]

Mental hygiene makes two emphases. One is upon the therapy and care of already existing problems in the individual. In order to achieve a cure, corrective schools, clinics, psychiatric agencies, and hospitals are necessary. It is assumed that personality difficulties already exist and have to be remedied. The other basic thought is that we must *keep already healthy minds healthy.* In thinking about physical health this latter attitude is always implicit. Recreational and health facilities are not employed for corrective purposes only. Young and old are encouraged to participate in the activities to keep healthy. It is necessary that the same attitudes dominate also the mental realm. Both the micro-cultural influences and the total macro-cultural setting need to be so planned as to assure the health of personality in all of its aspects: physical, emotional, intellectual, and social. Mental hygiene recognizes, however, that they are inseparable. Emotional stress impairs physical health; it diminishes intellectual capacities; it causes social disorientation. Similarly, intellectual handicaps cause emotional difficulties as a result of a feeling of failure as compared to others. This in turn sets up hostility and anti-social attitudes.

Recent investigations show that misbehavior is also caused by ascertainable bio-chemical lacks or excesses in the body. Experiments show that some behavior cases can be affected by surgical, physical, chemical, and electrical therapy. Thus, in terms of modern knowledge the vague concept of personality becomes an ever more tangible reality. The philosophers' theories of the total personality or body-mind are confirmed by scientific facts.

Better known than the nature of personality are its needs, which are easily observable. Some of the essential needs have been either indicated or implied in other parts of the volume. These can be classified, for the purpose of emphasis, as those for *growth* and for *security.* The needs of growth make themselves manifest as the child's powers strengthen and he feels the need to exercise them. Here are to be recognized the needs for physical activity of various kinds, aesthetic expression, and intellectual efforts—all in differing and constantly increasing degrees and areas. In a program of mental hygiene education, these needs must be met and the aggression of the child directed into useful and socially desirable forms. The home, the playground, and school must be ever on the alert to refrain from frustrating them. Inhibitions of undesirable behavior must be built up gradually. As already indicated, this can be accomplished most healthfully by a person for whom the child has a friendly feeling; but it is essential that even such a person should not repress abruptly or severely the impulse to activity and expression. Sudden and peremptory prohibitions block the creative-dynamic drives as well as the drives for self-determination. But, even more important, the child's security is threatened. He feels rebuffed and rejected. We cannot repeat too often that the greatest of all needs of the child, as well as of the adult, is a feeling that he is accepted, that he "belongs." The child's needs for security are met through the relations that exist between him and other children and adults.

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[1] Becker, Howard, "A Practical Mental Health Program," *Psyche,* Vol. 12, No. 2, October, 1931, p. 62.

Enlightened medical authorities recognize the importance of education in the prevention and cure of mental ills. This awareness has been succinctly expressed recently by a medical man, Professor David K. Henderson, of the University of Edinburgh, when he said: "Our organized medical service, augmented by improved methods of dealing with people whether in health or illness, must be supplemented by a constructive educational system, one which is not so much scholastic or academic, but which is concerned more with the full and complete utilization of the individual's natural resources." Further exploration would indicate, however, that the term education even in its widest meaning is not sufficient. The total social structure is more involved in determining mental health than any single factor in it; for not only do customs and accepted values dictate the form of education but the essential personality is determined by them. A recent health survey in a large high school in a poorer section of New York disclosed that 90 per cent of the students suffered from some form of physical illness or defect. A rather exhaustive study of the effect of economic depression upon the attitudes of school children shows that poverty and uncertainty gnaw at the core of their lives.

These conclusions are based on a series of mental and personality tests given to children in schools, after which a number of pupils were interviewed. Fifty-two per cent of the girls were worried about not having enough money and 71 per cent of the boys were concerned about economic needs. The school children showed much concern about finding jobs when they leave school, the boys being more anxious on this score than the girls. "In general, there was a widespread sense of insecurity among the school children," the study reports.

But these were not the only worries uncovered. The children were found to feel also the pressure of home responsibilities, and showed themselves especially anxious about the health and well-being of their parents. They were found to worry a great deal about their fathers losing jobs, but they were not so anxious about their fathers getting sick as they were about the mothers' health. Seventy-one per cent of the boys and 75 per cent of the girls were burdened with this worry about their mothers; 62 per cent of the boys and 63 per cent of the girls were similarly concerned about their fathers.

This study also confirmed the claims of the more enlightened educators that anxiety over school failure is a major problem in the lives of children. The report indicates that school problems play the most pressing rôle of all. Ninety-one per cent of the boys and 94 per cent of the girls were found worrying about failing in tests. No other item occasioned such widespread concern. Getting "poor report cards" was another frequent source of worry. If we add to these the stresses experienced by children because of the repression of power and creative drives and the lack of self-determination, we have a fairly complete picture of the modern problem-producing culture.

Psychiatry and Psychotherapy

It is an ascertained fact that these and similar early stresses, if continued for an extensive period, result in those impairments of the mind—intellect and emotions—that are classified as psychopathic and neurotic states. It has also been found that in many instances these require individual psychiatric treatment or casework attention; for personality distortions may reach a point where indirect methods to correct them, such as are ordinarily employed in recreation, schools, and clubs, are of little or no avail. Opportunities for creative effort and acceptance are in such instances either rejected by the child, or for other reasons fail to have corrective value. Moreover, in a distressing number of instances, measures that might have prevented mental illness were either unavailable or have been brought into play too late to be effective. The denial of basic needs for security, for being understood, and for expression of creative and aggressive drives sets up one or several of the numerous disturbances to which man's mind may, and so frequently does, become prey—to produce what is commonly termed as the neurotic and the psychopath.

The number of psychopathic persons is greater than is suspected. Although society has found means to protect itself against the delinquent, the criminal, and the insane, it has as yet been unable to find equally effective means to ward off the evil wrought by psychopathic persons. Both because their mode of operation borders so much upon the normal and because the number of these mentally affected individuals is rapidly becoming so large, no adequate means of detection and treatment have as yet been set up. Society is concerned with spectacular disasters, and it punishes overt crimes. The aggressive, the sadistic, the intolerant, those with exaggerated strivings for power and prestige, and the over-rebellious constitute, however, an even greater menace. The situation is growing even more serious because a large number of psychopaths attain positions of power. In these positions they not only increase mental pathology by making millions of subordinates and dependents insecure, miserable, and unhappy; but they also cause irreparable social imbalance.[2]

Psychiatry is the science and practice of that branch of medicine that concerns itself with the diagnosis and correction of the mind. It deals largely with the reorganization or restoration of the mind to normal or socially efficient function. It is not possible or necessary to detail here the practices and scope of psychiatry or psychotherapy. The methods employed are even more varied and more numerous than the illnesses themselves, which are startingly varied and complex. Mental deterioration is the most baffling of all human problems. Because of the inherent complexity of the body-mind, the possibilities for distortions and disorientation are correspondingly numerous. In recent years the concept of the unconscious, i.e., the determining force of attitudes and memories not known to the patient, has helped greatly in understanding and in the cure of the mentally ill. Racial and cultural characteristics have also been found as contributing elements in the structure of personality. Social and economic conditions as well are seen as potent factors in the total picture of the mind's formation and malformation. Then there are to be considered the innumerable neurological, glandular, and organic deteriorations and mal-functions that are present in varying degrees in almost every individual but are heightened in the psychopath and the neurotic.

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[2] Perhaps the reader's attention should be called to the difference between *psychopathic* and *psychotic*. Psychotic persons by and large are those commonly designated as "insane." The psychopath retains a sense of reality, though he frequently acts as though he were insane. Recent studies have raised many questions, however, as to the precise nature of the psychopathic personality and some experts deny its existence entirely.

Psychiatry aims to employ means of treatment appropriate to the specific needs. The methods and media of therapy are suited to the needs of the situation. The interview, changing the environment, occupation, medication, physical exercises, fever therapy, shock treatment, and surgery are resorted to in different cases. As a result of these various methods, schools of practice have arisen variously known as psychophysics, psychochemistry, psychosurgery, occupational therapy, psychoanalysis, and a number of other less known methods.

Case Work

Case-work treatment of mental or social disorientation has many points in common with psychiatry, but in many more respects differs from it.

Social case work is practised on different levels. Financial relief, job-getting, supplying medical and other aid are some of these. Others are to settle and iron out conflicts in the home or on the job, to help rearrange school programs, to find recreational facilities, to supply friendship and understanding where it is lacking. These levels have been characterized by Dr. David Levy as "supportive treatment." A somewhat deeper appeal is made by the newer development in social case work known as psychiatric case work. In this practice the supportive efforts described above are not altogether rejected, but the emphasis is laid upon helping clients to help themselves. The psychiatric case worker aims to correct as far as he can the inner states that militate against satisfactory adjustments. To this end he employs some of the techniques employed in psychiatry, such as the interview, play therapy, occupational therapy, the transference situation, the use of authority, interpretation, and other such means. The treatment here, however, is on much more superficial levels than it is in psychiatry. Psychiatry deals with the inner states themselves, their malformations and corrections; case work limits itself to helping the individual in his adjustment to others and to the world generally. Social case work, therefore, is concerned more with adjustment to environment. It relies chiefly upon manipulating the environment for corrective purposes and in changing the *attitudes* of the client toward himself and toward the exterior world by a process of re-education. A social case worker, for example, would consider himself successful with a client who has been helped to get and hold a job, who has made friends, and who functions well in his family setting, even though the conditions within the personality may not have been corrected. The case worker, although taking cognizance of this unsolved basic inner problem, concentrates upon socially desirable function rather than upon eliminating inner causes. If the causal disturbances are of such a nature or are so intense as to make adjustment impossible, the case worker may turn the client over to a psychiatrist for treatment with a view to correcting the basic difficulties. The conscientious case worker is at all times aware of his limitations in training and skill and does not exceed his rightful scope of activity. He recognizes the fact that he can deal only with some of the simpler neuroses.

The more fundamental difference between psychiatry and case work, however, lies in the fact that the case worker deals with the total social situation and not with the client only. The psychiatrist has been more concerned with the patient alone, though the present trend is to include social factors as well. In recent years psychiatrists have found that to be effective they must resort to some auxiliary aids, such as the supportive type of treatment. In hospitals for the mentally ill, therefore, opportunities are created for patients' participation in group life and recreation, in various activities, and in work. Hospitals and private practitioners aim to give their patients a sense of security, of being understood and appreciated; and to direct them toward some sustaining and stimulating occupation. It has been found that functional treatment has aided greatly the direct therapy, and one may hazard the guess that at least in some cases the major effectiveness came from these auxiliaries. Since it is becoming increasingly certain that mental break-down is induced by excessive external strain upon the personality, even though that personality was originally weak and susceptible to pathology, treatment must include these causative forces. To reduce or eliminate these strains it is necessary to go out into "the field": the home, the school, the office, the social set; and to make necessary changes and adjustments there. This manipulative work is the province of the case worker. Thus, in the more intensive and more inclusive efforts, psychiatry, psychotherapy, and social case work converge and supplement each other.

As we analyze some of the efforts in psychotherapy we find a singular recurrence of the basic needs of childhood that have been indicated in preceding pages and will be further discussed. The essential parts of psychotherapy, with some exceptions (as the case of the delinquent personality), are security, love, acceptance, status, being understood and appreciated. Another prevalent technique is releasing powers and talents in work and creative effort. A third is training in the field of social adjustment and group living. Thus, corrective efforts in establishing wholesome character and personality synthesis follow the path of the child's need for security and growth.

The Visiting Teacher

Among the earliest efforts in modern corrective work among children in the United States was the work of the visiting teacher. This is an application of the case-work approach to the problem pupil. The general humanizing trend in the treatment and care of children has led many educators to recognize the error of their ways. As a result the dunce cap, "being left back," and punishments have come into disrepute. The spread of the mental hygiene point of view, by which the present century can be best characterized, has also reached the schoolroom. Some school officials are now willing to admit that bad conditions outside and in the school may contribute to the child's misbehavior in the classroom. To discover what these conditions are and to attempt to right them is the task of the "visiting teacher."

The function of the visiting teacher is to investigate and correct conditions in the home, the street, and the leisure-time life of the child, as well as his health. The visiting teacher is a person who has had training in mental hygiene and in social case work. She understands the needs of the special child assigned to her. She works with the parents and siblings in the home; seeks to adjust the relations of the client with the members of the family; co-ordinates the work of the school and the home; interprets the child to the classroom teacher and to school officials; tries to adjust the curriculum to the child's abilities and needs. She also brings to bear various community agencies that may aid in correcting the problems in the home and in the neighborhood. Relief agencies, health and mental clinics, and recreational centers are often enlisted on behalf of the client. The value of the visiting teacher, however, does not lie only in correcting existing problems. Frequently, her presence in a school serves to prevent the development of problems. Children are referred to her for study and investigation of early school maladjustment, thus giving her an opportunity to check at the first signs of more serious disorganization.

Special Classes and Groups

Among the most significant developments in the guidance of individual children in schools are "special classes." These classes are planned to meet the unique needs of pupils with various physical handicaps, the mentally retarded, and the emotionally maladjusted. There are classes for pupils with failing vision, cardiac defects, pulmonary deficiencies, and the undernourished. The intellectually retarded are grouped in accordance with the degree of this retardation into classes that are variously designated as "Ungraded," "Special," and "Binet."

In each case, whether the handicaps are physical or intellectual, adjustments in the curriculum are made to meet the capacities of the pupils. The physical activity of the cardiac cases, for example, is reduced to a minimum. For the intellectually deficient children, the school program emphasizes motor activity, play, shopwork, arts, and crafts. The academic program for the physically handicapped is the same as, and sometimes more advanced than, for the average child, while in the "Binet" classes it is greatly lightened. In many cities, open-air classes are arranged for children with pulmonary difficulties and for the undernourished. The latter are also supplied with special or supplementary diets. Sight-conservation classes use books with large type and have special lighting arrangements. Close visual work is reduced to a minimum.

Some of the better teachers in these "special classes" are aware of the mental hygiene of the handicaps: that a person's defect is not so important to formation of character as his attitude toward that defect. These teachers use every means to reduce the stigma and the consciousness of being different. They maximalize the advantages of being a member in one of these classes. Under the specific conditions in which the children find themselves, the good teacher treats them as normal. She seeks to call forth and develop the latent abilities in each pupil in accordance with the law of natural compensation (which is discussed elsewhere in this volume).

An even more significant development, and one requiring a more skilful educational procedure than for the physically handicapped and the retarded, is the classes for the "problem children." These are children who are emotionally maladjusted, socially disoriented, pre-delinquent, or delinquent. It is not possible at this point to enter into an extensive discussion of the education (or, rather, re-education) of these pupils. We have briefly set forth some of the basic principles of this work in the sections in this chapter entitled "Group Therapy" and "Re-Education." The writer hopes to develop further these concepts and describe, in greater detail, appropriate practices in a forthcoming volume dealing specifically with the education of the "problem child."

The "opportunity classes" for children who present behavior deviations consist of pupils who are, or seem, physically and intellectually normal, but whose emotional malformations are such as to render them anti-social and unmanageable under ordinary conditions. These classes are organized in an activity plan with a minimum of academic work and a maximum of freedom allowable in a school atmosphere. Opportunities are provided for a variety of manual occupations and the discharge of hostility into constructive, though aggressive effort is encouraged. The function of the adult is to re-establish in the pupil attitudes of acceptance of, and friendliness toward, the teacher and other members of the school group.

Because a leisure-time educational program in "Y's," settlements, centers, and playgrounds necessarily lacks the same elements of constraint and force that exist in schools, many children who are problems there may make acceptable adjustments in leisure-time agencies. However, rowdyism, disturbances at group meetings, and especially vandalism, are everywhere to be found even in these institutions. In fact, actual acts of destructiveness and hostility are in some instances more likely to come to the surface in this comparatively permissive atmosphere. The aggressive, destructive, unmoral, and often immoral children constitute a real and not infrequently insoluble problem to staffs of free-time agencies. In the past such individuals were merely excluded from the buildings, and gangs restrained by guards or police, but there has been occurring in recent years a change of attitude toward such boys and girls. Neighborhood and recreational workers accept more and more the responsibility in doing their part in correcting personality distortions of their charges. They do this both through individual treatment and guidance and through specially designed groups. The reader will find somewhat more detailed material on this in sections of this chapter entitled "The Consultative Clinic Plan" and "Group Therapy."

GROUP EDUCATION

Until comparatively recently group or club work was a leisure-time occupation, with no educational or any other far-reaching implication. Within the last few years group work has come to be considered as a major educational influence. As a result, it is now referred to as *group education*. In view of the fact that the development of personality for function in a democratic society takes place through group contacts and social experiences, participation in various groups at various stages of growth and development is being recognized as a major educational process. This recognition is gradually, but unmistakably, changing the context and content of group work and group-work agencies, which are at present passing through a period of reconstruction and revaluation of program and leadership.

Since group education is informal, and therefore free from repressive or inhibitive methods, children and young people reveal their cravings and their problems with less restraint than in formal education. We therefore have here a situation in which the total personality asserts itself. The group educator, unlike the school teacher, need not fall back upon subject content, method, and discipline. He must meet the situation with freshness, originality, and skill in leadership. He must draw upon his resources of understanding and knowledge, and be flexible. To be sure, leaders and teachers in informal education cannot make their escape into the secure provinces of "programming," "methods," "motivation," "supervision." Education for personality and character defeats its purpose when it falls into the hands of "organizers" and the administratively minded. Life does not resolve itself into schematic patterns. Certainly education, and especially informal group education with its unending interplay of psychologic forces, cannot be reduced to schemes.

It could hardly be expected that in the midst of this confusion and conflict there would be more than comparatively few who would recognize the service that group education can offer as a corrective in character formation. Although the seriously disturbed child may require a more intensive type of case-work approach in group living, such as group therapy, to those with less severe difficulties informal clubs have treatment value. These clubs satisfy the primary needs for participation, for recognition, status, and creative effort. In large cities, many homes and schools are congested and impoverished. Parents and teachers are too harassed and limited to meet the cravings of most children. A feeling of being rejected, not wanted, not recognized, is the lot of many. Because club membership is a voluntary relation with no definite pattern, one can find his place in it. It builds up the ego and gives much-needed satisfactions.

For these and other reasons modern case workers and psychiatrists make use of recreational facilities in their communities. At times the interview method does not proceed satisfactorily because not enough is happening in the child's life. Sometimes the client suffers deeply from repressed hostility, which must be activated before discussion can profitably take place. There are the withdrawn and the friendless. It is necessary to expose these children to a social environment, where they can relate themselves to others and to groups. Then there are the effeminate boys or tomboy girls, who need to develop relations with children or young people of their own sex. The older boy and girl, whose normal development demands that they develop friendships with members of the opposite sex, must be directed where these are accessible. Corrective needs for growth in a larger number of clients than is recognized also include manual work with materials, participation in dramatics, literary expression, sports and gymnastics, art work, and similar occupations.

All these and many other possibilities of value to personality development and personality correction are offered by a good neighborhood center, "Y," and settlement house. Because of these considerations they are included among the important corrective efforts in character education.

Case Work-Group Work Integration

At the present time serious thought is given to integrating the services of the case worker with the group worker. As a matter of fact, there is very little new in this development. Case work-group work integration is nothing more than individualization in education. Some private "progressive schools" have done this for years. The newer public schools are now also studying the individual needs of pupils. The visiting teacher is one of the many developments toward singling out those children who need care and guidance. The curricular and other classroom activities are so designed as to satisfy individual talents, likes, and dislikes. In numerous instances children receive special attention and study as to their physical, psychological, and emotional states.

In public schools, as well as in colleges and universities, advisors and counselors, home-room teachers and deans, advisors to girls and boys, and various other specialists study the personalities and the needs of individual students. The aim here is to guide them toward making their school careers most valuable to them; also to discern and correct personality problems. The various guidance officers utilize the services of mental hygiene clinics, child guidance clinics, private or sectarian boards of guardians, correctional institutions, and numerous other specialized community services. In a number of cities, recently, boards of education have attached to the schools guidance departments, or bureaus, whose specially trained psychiatric case workers (often under the direction of psychiatrists) co-operate with the teachers in specially selected problem or difficult children. As long ago as 1918 the Walden School in New York City, a school that is conducted on group-education principles, maintained a psychological and case-work service for its pupils. A trained psychologist met with every teacher at frequent intervals to discuss each child in her classroom. All the available information concerning the child, his home conditions, developmental history, his special problems, was fully reviewed. Methods of treatment through the group situation, in the classroom, and through the curriculum, were also outlined at these conferences.

The psychologist also visited the pupils' homes, as did the teachers. The former also held conferences with the parents, and employed some of the methods of what is now known as psychiatric case work to ease the conflicts, if there were any, in the home. The attitude of the parent to the child, sibling-rivalry situations, hostility between the parents, the presence of disturbing adult relatives received the psychologist's attention. Whenever necessary and possible, changes in the home were made, minor adjustments effected; or, in a few extreme cases, the child was removed from the home, to be returned when conditions warranted. Homes that required continued and prolonged attention were assigned to a specially qualified teacher to continue the guidance through weekly or semi-weekly contacts. These teachers worked under the close supervision of the psychologist, each step in treatment being carefully planned. Since the majority of the teachers (who, by the way, served in this capacity gratis and on their own time) had had psychoanalytic training, the families were assured of as good case-work service as was available in those pre-case-work times. All who had a hand in the treatment of the child—the classroom teacher, the various special activity teachers, the case worker and the psychologist—were expected to submit written reports on their observations. These records formed the basis for planning the treatment procedure and for noting improvement.

This brief description of the work in the Walden School is in essence integration between case work and group work. As already stated, it is the individualization in school, in the club, and in recreation. However, a majority of group workers are still so concerned with programs and supervision that they are not adequately aware of individual members. Club, special activity, physical, and recreational directors have not been adequately sensitized to the disturbances in young people, which are in many instances the beginnings of serious personality difficulties. We have already indicated that the group educator, as well as the classroom teacher, should be aware of needs and group adjustment of the "normal" child. It is even more important that he be able to detect incipient pathological trends. The group worker should be able and be attuned to recognize physical defects, emotional stresses, and mental and physical handicaps. Some of these can be treated by a satisfying group experience, by pleasurable activity, and by group recognition. More serious and more involved cases may have to be referred for specialized case work or psychiatric attention.

To the extent that teachers and club leaders become alert to the individuality of their charges and are qualified to recognize deviations in personality development, on the one hand; and, on the other, case workers and psychiatrists continue to accept the essential fact that man is a social animal and that groups can help in preventing and curing mental disturbances —to that extent will the co-operation of these two groups of specialists be unified. As one of numerous instances of growth in this direction, corrective or reform schools have within the last five years added intramural case work as a part of their plan for rehabilitation of youth. Still more recently, group work techniques have also been added with the same end in view. There are a few such schools where case work and group life in and out of the academic school and in leisure-time occupations are employed co-operatively.

The Consultative Clinic Plan

A plan to further this integration in the ordinary club and center has been suggested recently in an article by the present writer, which is quoted in part below:

"The interest with which the leaders and members of the Metropolitan Leaders' Association have responded to the suggestion of a consultative service on group work is a clear indication of the growing professional attitude of workers in that field. Group experience is fast becoming recognized as an integral part of the education of the child in modern society. Because of prevailing conditions in modern life, the voluntary, leisure-time group must be considered a prime essential in development.

"If group workers are to meet this new responsibility to education, professional training is essential. . . . However, just as in any other profession, the problems that the practitioner meets in the field cannot be always anticipated or fully covered in any course on group work. Since we are dealing with human beings, and in the most formative stage of their development, the difficulties are likely to be many and quite frequently baffling. Some group workers, therefore, feel a need for an agency to which they can turn for help and guidance. It will be readily seen that the problems confronting a club leader are not always purely matters of programming or equipment. Frequently they are matters of personality deviations and problem-creating behavior on the part of some members of a club. Such situations require an awareness and a knowledge not only of psychology, but also of some of the elements of psychopathology.

"Certainly the variety of types of individuals who come to centers and the problems that they present require a prolonged period of in-service training on the part of club leaders, and supervision that can be supplied only through some central body. The consultative body to which group workers could turn in cases of acute difficulties, in particularly disturbing group situations and in cases of individual maladjustments, ought to have several members with long experience in group work or an intimate acquaintance with it. At the same time, they should be expert at some definite specialties.

"Although the constituency of such a personnel has to evolve gradually on the basis of actual experience and in accordance with the problems presented, we could envisage the presence in such a body of: (1) a person with psychiatric training; (2) one with a knowledge of club programming; (3) specialists in various educational occupations; and (4) general educators. This is not a definite plan. As stated, the needs of club leaders should be a guide as to the personnel of this committee, and in its early development it can consist of only a few members.

"It is hoped that the institution of such central professional guidance will tend to raise group-work leadership to the status of other professions, nearly all of which have consultative clinics."

GROUP THERAPY[3]

This type of therapy, developed by the present writer, is a part of the program of psychotherapy in which group experience is indicated in the plan of treatment. Very frequently it is necessary that the client or patient learn how to live and work satisfactorily with a group. The importance of group activities as part of a well rounded treatment program is recognized by psychiatrists and case workers in some instances as a preventive for delinquent trends and in readjusting individuals for constructive social functioning.

Some difficult children are able to participate in the ordinary recreational activities of neighborhood centers, and to derive from them the necessary socializing influences. There are, however, cases of over-aggressive and hostile children, whose behavior is a disrupting influence and who therefore cannot be tolerated by the average school, settlement, or center. To the extent that these are excluded from membership and thrown upon their own recreational resources their potentiality for delinquency is increased. It is a known fact that the worst boys in a given neighborhood are rarely interested in or acceptable for center membership.

There is another group, equally large in number, who are too timid or withdrawn to be able to participate in ordinary group activity. One such boy, who joined a therapy group after many invitations, expressed his feeling this way: "I didn't want to come to the club because I thought it was a big club and a lot of boys would stare at me. If I'd known it was such a small club, I would have come long ago." It frequently takes a case worker months to overcome timidity in a client, and sometimes it is necessary to bring him to the group personally for the first two or three meetings.

The principles on which this group therapy is based are four. First: Every child needs the security of unconditioned love from his parents and other adults who play a significant rôle in his life. If this love is not forthcoming from these sources, a substitute for them must be supplied. The case worker, the Big Brother, and the group therapist are such substitutes. Second:

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[3] Part of the material in this section was presented in a paper, entitled "The Group in Development and in Therapy," at the 1938 National Conference of Social Work in Seattle, Washington, and appeared in the Proceedings.

The ego and the sense of self-worth so frequently crushed in problem children must be built up. This is done in group therapy through recognition of all constructive effort on the part of the child by praise and encouragement. Destructive behavior, on the other hand, is ignored by the adult; it is corrected by the group itself. Third: Every child needs some genuine interest to occupy his leisure time. The program of group therapy, therefore, provides activities in the constructional, plastic, graphic, and other arts and occupations. There are various tools and materials at hand, which the children are permitted to use freely to create in whatever medium appeals to them. Fourth: The rebuilding of distorted personality calls for a significant experience in group relations. Of primary importance is the generous praise that the members spontaneously offer one another. But the opportunities for personality interaction are much more numerous. The members of the group work together; they quarrel and fight; they argue and haggle; but finally they come to a working understanding with one another. Sometimes this process takes six months or more, but once it has been established it becomes a permanent attitude that is carried over to other group relationships in the home, in school, and at play.

These results can be obtained only when the children are allowed to express freely their resentments and hostilities without fear of the adult. In the early stages of the group's existence the leader remains quite neutral; he is no judge or censor. The consequent opportunity for the children to release pent-up resentments and hostilities is certain to help in stabilizing and normalizing personality. This is the principle of a *permissive culture* as differentiated from the prohibitive environment that has wrought such havoc with some of these children. After five years of observing different groups of boys and girls of varying ages we feel safe in stating that all of the groups developed satisfactory restraints to assure normal behavior at meetings, though the start of many was quite hectic, to use a mild word.

Each group meets in the neighborhood where its members live. It is supervised by a specially qualified worker, who has been carefully selected for his educational background and personality, and who has completed a course of specialized training in group therapy leadership. The first part of its meeting is spent in free activity of the kind described above, free play, or idling. The latter part is devoted to a social hour: refreshments are served, and the group sits about a table eating and talking in family fashion. These meetings are varied by trips to places of interest in the city and its environs, as well as visits to gymnasiums, picnics, and outdoor play in the parks.

As soon as a group has achieved sufficient integration, it is transferred to an existing "Y" or settlement. A report recently received about one such group of girls, which had been transferred to a center, reads: "Although your girls are handicapped both intellectually and economically compared with other members of the 'Y,' they seem to display an inordinate interest and understanding of music compared to our own members. They are also interested in other arts." We attribute this to their frequent visits to museums, concerts, and the opera, and to the victrola music played and discussed at the group therapy meetings.

In referring a client for group therapy, the case worker submits a case summary in which pertinent details are included: age, physical development, physical defects, family constellation, the nature of family maladjustment, economic status, school adjustment, adjustment to other children, recreational resources used, a statement of the general problem, a description of the personality of the client, etc. This material is used in studying and in assigning the client to a group suited to his needs.

Careful records of each meeting are kept by the group worker. The occupations, behavior, and conversations are recorded after the meeting. In addition, special records are kept of each member of the group. His reactions and behavior are described after three or four meetings. Later, progress reports are submitted by the group worker every three months, copies of which are sent to the case worker. On the basis of these, "integration conferences" are held on each client, at which are present the case worker, group worker, the director of group therapy and, occasionally, on a more difficult case, the case work supervisor and psychiatrist. These conferences are intended to check up on the progress of the client, to determine the value of both the case and the group treatment, and to plan further steps in the therapy.

RE-EDUCATION[4]

The present writer envisages for the near future an educational movement in schools, leisure-time centers, and in correctional institutions that can best be described as *re-education.* The philosophy of this movement will be based upon the recognition that children come to the educational situation, whether in schools or elsewhere, with partially mutilated personalities, with neurotic trends, hostilities, rigidities, and other types of actual or incipient maladjustments. Although these are usually comparatively slight, and are corrected through normal everyday contacts in the various micro-cultures and in the larger world, a sufficiently large number present severe enough problems to warrant some definite effort.[5]

The reader has undoubtedly detected the implication that all corrective efforts—whether in the school, in psychotherapy, or in group education—involve an educational process. The teacher, club leader, special activity director, case worker, and physician seek to bring forth from within the personality attitudes and powers that will re-orient the individual along more normal lines. They can be successful only if they re-condition already established states and attitudes. That is, one must find ways to re-educate an already educated person.

We have seen that group therapy helps the child to relive essential relations, and to do this with a group from which are absent the undesirable features of the natural family where the problems originated. The child must discover that groups are not always a threat to his ego; that not all adults frustrate, hurt, and reject. Children who have suffered from such situations must sometime in their life be convinced that adults and groups can accept them and be kind to them. This re-experiencing of the various relations that caused panic and distress in the first instance is among the major needs of an effective psychotherapy. In a re-educational program for problem or delinquent youth it is necessary to recognize that a large number of personality difficulties arise from unconscious sources, and that such disturbances are essentially individual in their nature. For this reason, the treatment program must also be individualized.

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[4] Part of the material in this section was included in a paper entitled "Group Living As a Means of Developing Personality," read at the 1938 National Conference of Social Work.

[5] It is estimated that in New York City 10,000 children are under treatment in private agencies, 24,000 have police records, and 20,000 are habitual truants. Since many difficult children are not included in the foregoing figures, the number of incipient and actual cases can be assumed to be considerably larger.

Enlightened psychiatry and education recognize that the strivings, drives, and conflicts that remain latent and serve to distort personality need release through some medium. In psychotherapy this medium is language. In corrective education the medium is creative expression and human relations. If activity is constructive and leads to group recognition, self-esteem, and satisfaction, the personality tends to become integrated, and is thereby helped to accept social and group restraint. This re-educative process is further aided by satisfying group life under the leadership of understanding and sympathetic adults, who serve as parent substitutes.

In such a program of re-education it is also necessary to help each child to discover his true interests, and to provide for him expression of these; for not only is this satisfying, but it also constitutes a further proof to the child that he is loved and accepted. Classroom work as well as group education and recreation must be modified to suit the capacities of each participant, and achievement must be judged in individual terms, rather than in terms of averages. Many boys and girls are unable to concentrate for long periods, and require relief through physical, manual, or vocational activity or recreation. The influence of children upon each other should also be employed in this program. There are the aggressive, the submissive, the aesthetic, the primitive types; the easily socializable, and those who have only limited social capacity. These should be grouped, with a view to attaining group balance and personality interactivity, which will bring the group as closely to the normal as it is possible to obtain in practice. Social participation is essential in such a program of re-education; but it must be an outgrowth of social awareness, of an interest in social environment, and of a consciousness of capacity to affect that environment. It proceeds from a sense of harmony with the school, center, or institution; and with the adults in charge. Participation and self-direction usually originate in many isolated instances of recognition and co-operation, and from opportunities offered by the total environment for wholesome, constructive growth and development.

It should be recognized, however, that the most effective re-education comes from free and friendly relations between adults and children. No program of activities is itself sufficient. The feeling of satisfaction and the release of tension that arise from adequate creative and group functioning must be backed by satisfying adult-child relations. The destructive impulses toward society of the delinquent youth are an extension of his hostility toward adults who figured in his early life. This hostility can be lessened, and sometimes even eradicated, through the youth's growing a sense of trust in some adult. Staff and child relations are therefore a special concern of re-education.

At several important points re-education differs sharply from education. For example, the early function of the adult in re-education is the exact opposite of that in education. In the normal development of the child his self-assertive trends must be met by education through removing adult domination or control. The child is gradually placed on his own and throws off his dependence. In re-education, however, we are dealing largely with boys and girls who have already violently rejected adults. In fact, they have often become actually hostile to them. It is therefore necessary to bring these children to accept adults and, in the early stages of re-education, to feel even dependent upon them. This process is equivalent to leading the pupil to re-live his infancy and early childhood pleasantly and securely. As the child grows more confident as a result of his successes and positive relations, he should again be helped to wean himself from this dependence.

Another point at which education and re-education differ is in the matter of success and failure. Modern education requires that pupils must experience resistance from their environment. It holds that character is strengthened and personality is enriched through overcoming difficulties and solving problems. Resistance may come from materials, ideas, or people; and the child is expected to deal with increasing difficulties as his powers evolve and his abilities mature. Such an educational process posits that the pupil has to experience occasional failure as well as success (though the adults in charge must prevent the development of a permanent sense of failure). In re-education, however, all failure or dissatisfaction with oneself must be prevented. Because children with problems are oversensitive and feel persecuted, unwanted, or rejected, they are emotionally fragile. They become disturbed and their feeling of self-worth is impaired by even the slightest disappointment. Thus, although the teacher in the new school and the leader of a modern club participate as little as possible in group or activity situations and often even withdraw from them, in re-education it is their function to see to it that all efforts on the part of the child with problems have a successful conclusion. As he matures, grows stronger, and more integrated he is able to withstand resistance and failure.

There are, however, some types of children to whom the anxieties that come from failure and rejection are beneficial for a given time. One such is the neurotic delinquent type of personality: i.e., one in whom social criteria for behavior have not been established. Such persons can be described as *conscienceless.* They are unable to distinguish between right and wrong; they have no qualms when exploiting or cheating; they accept help with no feeling of obligation; they have no sense of responsibility; and can commit anti-social acts such as stealing and even more serious crimes without a feeling of guilt or wrongdoing.

The method of treating such individuals is to create in them anxiety whenever one can. So long as they remain in a state of moral stupor no cure is possible, for there are no means by which one can reach their inner life. Everything seems to slide off them as water does off a duck's back, unless one succeeds in making them anxious and frightened, so that they may seek help from the teacher or the therapist. This method, however, must not under any circumstances be employed in the education of the normal, withdrawn, or anxious child. Guilt and fear, the two greatest enemies of man's health and happiness, must not be invoked in education, though much of traditional schooling relies upon them for its success. To the extent that they are brought into play, education destroys personality. The induction of anxiety in very specific cases is, then, a third of the many points in which education and re-education differ.

CHAPTER VII

PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT AS AN EDUCATIONAL AIM

CONCEPTS OF PERSONALITY

It was thought in the past that personality was that aspect of the individual that presents itself to the world in behavior and attitudes. Even now the common meaning of the term is very much the same. One's personality is what appears to the world; the impression one makes; the manners one has. This is in keeping with the derivation of the word: *persona,* a mask.

Scientific investigations, however, have revealed numberless factors that broaden this meaning. The bio-chemical processes of the body, for example, are not observable; but they are an important part of the organism. Defects of the nerves and glands, imbalance of metabolism, and various degenerative processes may be present in one for many years before they are made manifest either as physical symptoms or as behavior. There may be tendencies in a person, hereditary for the most part, to develop physical and mental excellences or defects in later life. Very frequently these cannot be detected by ordinary observation nor even by the most minute and searching scientific tests. Many a brilliant child carries within himself the roots of insanity. Charming poise and quiet may be the precursors of schizophrenia. The physically weak child may surprise many as he develops into a robust, strong, and athletic youth or adult. The handicapped often develop unexpected excellences.

It would be difficult to find any scientist willing to predict the line of growth of a child; for not all the hidden factors that determine development can be made known. Unexpected developments, either positive or negative, are often described as "change" or "break-up" in personality. Actually, however, their causes have always been present. Homicide, for example, is most frequently committed by persons who have been for years the unsuspected prey of that tendency; and many cases of personality disorganization and insanity occur in persons who have long suffered from unrevealed diseases. It is known, for example, that highly neurotic persons may have no observable symptoms, while some who appear well balanced are in great conflict and stress. The ruddy cheeked and buxom may suffer from high blood pressure and die unexpectedly and prematurely; the anaemic looking may attain exceptional old age. Highly technical and minute physical, histological, chemical, and psychological tests are required to detect the presence of many defects and superiorities in man, and very frequently even these tests do not bring to light the true state of the personality.

Thus, the modern view of personality embraces the total organism and not only as one can see it. Behavior, feeling-tones, attitudes, and needs are all components of one's personality. Metabolism and the circulation of the blood; security cravings, anxieties, and compulsions; keen or dull intellect; quick or delayed nerve responses; balance or imbalance of the glands and of other chemical processes of the body—all of these and numberless other factors are part of personality. As we shall indicate in a later chapter, character, too, is only one of its many elements.

As we conceive it, then, personality is the total of all organic and psychic states of the individual. It includes the covert, unexpressed trends and processes as well as overt, observable behavior. It may be said that personality is the sum of all the states, trends, and possibilities as well as the tools with which the life of an individual is carried on. Thus, the capacity to withstand strain and to have resourcefulness with which one solves one's problems is a part of personality. Another aspect of a wholesome personality is inner relaxation, which begets tolerance and sympathy. As we conceive it, however, personality comprises also physical and mental powers, weaknesses, adequacies and inadequacies. In brief, *personality consists of the total resources with which one carries on the business of living.*

EDUCATION FOR PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

Although there may be considerable difference of opinion as to definitions, to the educator personality is the *innatenesses* that have to be developed. He understands that personality develops through function and experience and is impoverished by a lack of them. The sources of personality are the innate tendencies and urges common to the human species; and the capacities, dispositions, and predilections peculiar to each individual. These exist at first only as tendencies. As a result of growth and function, they become formed and intensified: mental capacity, as well as physical power, atrophies or remains rudimentary when it is not put to use. Power results from exercise, and the overcoming of obstacles produces strength. The educative process, therefore, must not only provide for activity (exercise), but also for problem solving, which is necessary to the development of power and intelligence.

The method of activity and pupil-assertive techniques in education are the most appropriate for these larger objectives. This means the elimination of many prevalent practices, which is already being done in many of the better public and private schools, and in group education. If we wish to assure personality development, we need also make education accord with individual needs.

A situation that challenges a young child, for example, will be too simple for a youth or for an adult. On the other hand, a situation or problem that spurs on an adult to violent physical and mental activity is passed unnoticed by a younger person. He does not even recognize the existence of a problem. This is equally true of children of the same ages but different sexes or diverse social and educational backgrounds. In a word, education must be personalized.

The chief contributions of education to wholesome personality, in addition to those just described, occur in our culture through: (a) health education, (b) family relations, (c) psychological guidance, (d) satisfying *rapport* with playmates and the larger group, (e) adequate sex education, (f) co-education, (g) school guidance, and (h) creative expression. Because they are somewhat more tangible and direct, some of these are selected from numerous other influences for consideration here.

HEALTH EDUCATION

It will be sufficient here to call the reader's attention to the generally recognized fact that good health and the poise and power it begets are essential not only to personal "happiness," but also for successful and satisfying social life. The lack of drive, irritability, and self-centeredness that are by-products of poor health greatly militate against wholesome adjustment to the world.

FAMILY GUIDANCE

Since both personality and character are deeply and most intimately affected by home relations with parents, siblings, and other members of the family group, conditions in the home become the concern of an inclusive character-building agency. Family guidance, therefore, becomes the function of a good school and of an educative neighborhood center. Educators have recognized for some time that the success of their work depends upon pupils' attitudes toward their teachers and subject matter. These are largely determined by the emotional conditions, which in turn originate in the home. The visiting teacher and the child guidance bureau are outcomes of this new recognition. Group leaders and community workers also relate their efforts with the situation in the home; for in a real sense, *the family is the child's first society, and his playmates constitute his second society,* through which feelings, attitudes, and responses toward the larger world are formed.

The principles of parental education have been ably set forth in a number of excellent books and other publications. It is necessary here to emphasize only that those child-parent attitudes and sibling relations that really matter in personality development are not influenced by concepts, verbal instructions, and advice to the extent that the average parent educator would lead us to believe. Family relations are charged with intense emotions and unconscious attitudes that cannot be resolved by language. These relations are highly colored and are entirely subjective; they are distorted by the feeling-attitudes of each member in it. In family guidance we are dealing with subsurface processes and attitudes that in most instances cannot be affected by words. It would therefore seem that family guidance and parental education must be carried on, under present conditions, on the basis of the best-known methods of psychiatric social work and psychological guidance, adapted to a given situation.

But in addition to individual guidance, it is also possible to arouse in parents active interest in their children's problems by means of parent and children co-activity in projects that interest them both. Parties, festivals, dramatics, and exhibits arranged co-operatively by parents and children, toward which the former contribute materially as well as of their work, are sometimes effective. As children grow older and their interests converge with those of their parents, a more real and more educative situation emerges. Neighborhood and communal problems, political, economic, and social questions that affect them both can become the basis for common activity. Out of this deeper appeal a feeling of "togetherness" arises. Through such intimacy, questions are stirred up in the parents' minds for which they may seek clarification from the leader and educator. These may become the materials for parent study groups and for family guidance on the case-work basis. One of the efforts that school and center work must make in their program of character training and personality development must therefore be to stimulate parent-child co-activity at every opportunity, and to seek to involve the parents as far as possible as constructive participants in their children's interests.

Psychological Guidance

One of the great deficiencies of contemporary education is the lack of individualization in psychological guidance. Character training is still conducted on a mass basis, although we know how ineffective that method is. Group leaders and teachers are conscious of the fact that many of their charges present behavior problems, emotional disorganization, social maladjustments, and occasionally even more serious conditions. Many boys and girls who come to the school, to the neighborhood center, and to the recreation rooms suffer from various maladjustments, anxieties, fears, conversions, perversions, and antisocial attitudes, either in incipient or in advanced stages. The causes for these difficulties are many, and have been indicated previously. In some instances efforts are being made by teachers and workers to give necessary guidance. Lack of training in the field, however, makes these efforts often fruitless; in some cases, even harmful. Although it is not always possible for a center or a school to undertake clinical work in all cases uncovered, the intentions of character-education fall far short if they do not utilize other agencies for this purpose.

A good educational organization includes one or more psychiatric case workers on its staff, and has available the consultation services of a physician and a psychiatrist. This staff detects the problem cases, classifies them, and either treats them or refers them to clinics, social service agencies, institutions, or individuals trained in orthopsychiatry.[1]

The Question of Sex Education

In an education that aims to develop wholesome and integrated personalities, sex education is a primary requirement. Progressive education, psychiatry, psychology, and mental hygiene are all in agreement that early and progressive enlightenment in this direction is indispensable to mental and physical health.

In enlightened schools and in informal group education such information is given as called for by the pupils' questions. Questions on birth and sex arise naturally from science studies, from discussions on social matters, and from other classroom and club interests. In a community center these stimuli, such as science, do not always exist. If this is the situation, some other occasion should be used to open the subject; for we know that all young persons are very much preoccupied with it and either repress or develop furtive and unwholesome curiosity concerning it. The basic condition (and this cannot be emphasized too strongly) is that the members or pupils must have a feeling of friendship and trust toward the leader or teacher and be assured of his understanding. Only under such circumstances will really bothersome questions come to the surface. Sex, as is well known, is surcharged with guilt feelings induced by our culture, which must be counteracted in the course of education. As a result of these conditions, it is not a matter of just giving information. The task here is to counteract existing attitudes and feeling-tone; and to establish new and wholesome ones.

The second condition for successful sex education is intellectual and emotional clarity on the part of the adult himself. If for any reason he is unable to answer questions and give information without hesitancy, embarrassment, or confusion, he is not suited for the task. In this situation above all others it is better to leave the job undone than to do it poorly. Emotions are very contagious, particularly on matters about which secrecy, guilt, and repressions have already been established.

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[1] This matter is most urgently referred for serious consideration to all who are in positions of influence in schools and neighborhood centers.

Third, the adult is to be guided by the questions from those who are learning, to utilize the information they already have rather than stimulate them into areas that may prove confusing, embarrassing, or even shocking. It is better to follow the lead of the pupils and members than to commit blunders likely to have serious consequences.

Fourth, discussion should be free from all efforts to moralize. Attitudes concerning the subject should arise from a *naturalistic* morality, considerations of health, aestheticism, and the deeper self-regarding emotions aroused by development and culture.

Co-education and the Biologic Destiny

A healthy personality is capable of functioning adequately in the realm of what some psychologists term "the biologic destiny." "A man's personality can be termed a healthy personality only if he has succeeded in identifying himself with the ideal of masculinity. Similarly, no woman can be said to have achieved a healthy personality development unless she has achieved a sufficient identification with the mother image."[2] One of the important objectives of personality education is the preparation to function in a psychologic rôle appropriate to and in consonance with one's sex. There are, however, striking incongruities between psychologic attitudes and the physical sex of a large number of individuals in modern society. This anomaly causes deep-seated conflicts that dislocate functioning. It fires the woman, unable to accept her rôle in life fully, with ambitions and striving that are frequently not satisfied in a world of reality; it causes her to evolve a life pattern on an unconscious wish-fulfilling rather than on a realistic basis. The rejection of her femininity as an inevitable condition of her life distorts her sense of values and appreciations. Her attitudes toward others are those of power and severity. If she happens to be married, her children's personalities are mutilated by her feelings and behavior; both they and her husband are forced into submissiveness. Similarly, a man may be unable fully to assume his masculine part as defined by the cultural attitudes of our times. As a result, he becomes ineffectual either by excessive self-effacement or by "self-maximation": over-assertiveness, haughtiness, strictness, and severity. He affects adversely everyone who comes in contact with him: neighbors, employees, subordinates, wife, children, and friends. Psychiatric treatment is essential for individuals who are so afflicted.

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[2] Glueck, Bernard, "The Significance of Parental Attitudes for the Destiny of the Individual," *Mental Hygiene,* New York, Vol. XII, No. 4, October, 1928, p. 781.

It seems certain that the sources of such personality distortions can be traced in some instances to organic predisposition; but in a much larger number of instances the causes are psychological, and originate in early childhood. Unconscious feelings and attitudes in such matters become an integral part of the personality; they constitute its permanent and directive pattern for life. Nevertheless, modern school practice tends more and more to equate the functions of boys and girls, as the world is equating those of men and women. The natural differences between the sexes are rapidly being worn down, increasing maladjustments. Boys and girls are placed in competition with one another on an identical basis for marks and recognitions; and in some of the most modern schools they are pitted against one another in games and sports.

Although foundations are laid in the identification with the parent—with the father in the boy, and with the mother in the girl—a great deal is contributed toward sexual orientation by later experiences. "Crushes" on teachers, early friendships with members of one's own and the opposite sex, stealthy love emotions of early youth and more overt love affairs of the later teens, petting, and all other such experiences, real and in phantasy, contribute greatly toward the ultimate formation of personality. But, as we analyze these early and formative experiences, we find them tinted with romance and phantasy. It is essential that, sometime in the evolution of their personalities, boys and girls have an opportunity of discovering the essential natures of one another, in purposeful constructive effort, for example. They should realize that, on the one hand, they are psychologically not identical, though equal as social and personal entities; and that each has equally important, though different, contributions to make to the total situation or enterprise. The source of confusion in this respect is the erroneous idea that to be different is to be inferior. *Men and women are socially, personally, and psychologically equal but not identical.*

Because traditional school classes are not organized for co-operative effort, free relationships and give-and-take among the pupils are very limited. As a result, the boy-girl antagonisms are intensified. In the co-educational group in the school and in the community center where co-operation is the rule, boys and girls can develop more realistic attitudes and more harmonious understanding of one another. Creative club and center work therefore can play an important rôle in determining perhaps the most essential aspect of personal adjustment to life. The free co-operation of boys and girls at the proper ages in constructive, purposeful enterprise can also help to discover individuals who for some reason or other tend to present difficulties in this situation, and who should be referred for psychologic guidance or treatment.

In the light of contemporary values, one-sex clubs and groups for adolescents are an anachronism. (See also the discussion in Chapter II.) Younger children, however, seem to prefer separate groups. Boys and girls pass through periods of indifference, repulsion, and attraction for each other. Thus very young children appear to be indifferent. At about ten years there seems to arise an active antagonism, which changes into an equally intense attraction at fifteen or sixteen. It is obviously harmful to force upon children co-education when they do not wish to be together; it is equally harmful to segregate them in classes and clubs at other times.

SCHOOL GUIDANCE

In a complete program of personality development and character training, school guidance is essential. Many problems are aggravated by school and classroom situations where pupils are unable to cope with the intellectual tasks imposed. Inadequate social development unfits many for satisfactory group function in the class or club, and intellectual handicaps may give the child a sense of failure. As a result, he either withdraws or becomes aggressive. As many public schools are at present constituted, no provision is made for individualizing program and curricula with a view to strengthening native talents and interests. However, it has been demonstrated innumerable times that learning can thus be made much more rapid and meaningful. In addition, such an individualized program gives the pupil self-esteem, constructive social attitudes, a happy outlook on life, and permanent and sustaining life interests. But mass education cannot bother with emotions. It cannot recognize that the child is conditioned against the adults, the school, and the world. Very often considerable irritation is caused by a pupil's need for some recognition from the teacher, by his need of a personal contact, or by his inability to become a part of the group.

Formal mass education cannot take cognizance of all this. Such situations are, however, easily discernible in a free, informal, educational program. Teachers, therefore, would do well to be more hospitable to recreational and social workers in the matter of planning an integrative educational program in which all the agencies interested in child welfare would cooperate. Many of the more professionally-minded teachers are becoming aware of the possibilities that "extra-curricular" free activities hold for wholesome development. These forward-looking teachers also recognize that ordinary classroom work on a mass plan contributes greatly toward personality disintegration and toward emphasizing and further aggravating existing difficulties.

Briefly, school guidance as a part of personality development follows two lines of endeavor. The first of these is an effort to modify when possible the boys' or girls' school programs in conformity with their talents and powers so as to render the school career a satisfying experience. The second is to apprise the teacher of the background, problems, and difficulties of the pupil; and to work out a line of treatment and action in the school situation suitable to the individual, with the aid of the visiting teacher.

CREATIVE EXPRESSION

It has been implicit throughout the preceding pages that creative expression, which receives considerable attention throughout this book, is a major means of personality development. Repressions on the level of neuro-muscular effort—play, sports, manual work, arts, the crafts, and language—are as unjustifiable and unnecessary as on the mental plane. In fact, the regulations imposed by adults in these fields and the lack of opportunities for children to release native drives in these directions are among the chief reasons for underdevelopment and emotional disturbances.

Every repression and frustration, physical or psychological, disturbs the organism, which in turn seeks to compensate. Hysteria, negativism, rebelliousness, moodiness, restlessness, flightiness are caused oftener than is generally recognized by unexpressed powers and unfulfilled talent. We have seen that in re-education the urges to originate and to express are released. This is done in order that the "nervousness" accumulated through earlier adult-imposed restrictions and by self-imposed inhibitions may be lessened. Creative effort relieves tension. Creativity also gives expression to the basic and primary urges, such as the function drive, the ego and assertive drives, curiosity, the drive-to-be-the-cause. When these are frustrated they take pathological and anti-social directions; when adequately expressed under favorable conditions, they lead to constructive and wholesome growth.

CHAPTER VIII

CHARACTER TRAINING AS AN EDUCATIONAL AIM

The Relation Between Character and Personality

The designations "personality development" and "character training" are no mere accidents of language. They rather indicate the difference between these two processes; for personality emerges from development and expression, whereas character results from control and discipline: i.e., training. Professor Cyril Burt defines character as "the sum total of those personal qualities of mind which do not constitute, or are not pervaded by intelligence. They are marked by feeling rather than skill." Professor A. A. Roback sees character as "an enduring psychological disposition to inhibit instinctive impulses in accordance with a regulative principle."

Character, as distinguished from personality, is a socially determined concept. It is what society thinks about an individual's behavior; and, basically, is a judgment word. Its meaning varies with differing circumstances and in different cultural conditions. What is sanctioned in character in times of war (such as murder) may be considered despicable in times of peace; what is virtuous in dealing with associates (telling the whole truth, for example) is called folly when employed with competitors; what is noble behavior to one's own group (loyalty, for instance) is thought cowardice if expressed toward members of an opposing group. Fundamentally, character is the result of modifications in the original personality to fit given conditions.

From the foregoing we see that there exists an antithesis between personality and character. Personality as we understand it is a positive concept. It is permanent and immutable in its very nature, for it is made up of all the latent and observable physical and mental dispositions and capacities. Character, on the other hand, results from development and from modifications of these in accordance with accepted social principles and morals. In this sense, character may be said to be "pervaded with intelligence" more than is personality. Personality has to do with all of the tendencies, expressed and hidden, of both the body and of the mind; it involves little or no awareness of its own states. Character, on the other hand, has to do with controlled functioning according to a series of principles. It is acquired and is largely conscious. We are inclined, therefore, to accept Roback's definition of character rather than that of Burt.

CHARACTER AS CONTROL

Socially considered, character is a disposition to inhibit the egocentric, instinctive urges and tendencies; and he is of "strong character" who has learned to bring such instincts under control, but without injuring his personality. It must be noted in passing that character is fundamentally a check upon personality. But it becomes a part of the final, overt personality because the latter undergoes modifications and training.

The "important goal of development is the acquisition of the capacity to make the right decision even though it has no relation to possibilities of immediate reward or punishment. One of the important characteristics of a healthy adulthood is the ability to postpone satisfaction of desire to an ever-ready future."[1] It would seem that what character education must seek is not the myopic urge for immediate results but rather, in the words of Dr. Abraham Myerson, "the building up of our lives into substantial purposes which will weather the vagrant urges and lures of the present moment." Dr. Myerson recognizes the difficulty in realizing this when he says: "It is the most difficult task of education and the greatest burden imposed on civilized man." The ability to overcome temptations to pleasure is not acquired by direct training. It is rather an outcome of power and inner balance attained through healthful physical and psychological growth. The mature person is one who has gained control over his pleasure drives. Freud pointed out that the pleasure and the reality principles in life are in constant conflict. To the degree to which one has brought the former under control to conform with reality, to that extent has he become mature.

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[1] Glueck, Bernard, *loc. cit.*, p. 736.

Character as Adjustment

The modification in personality to meet the requirements of the world is sometimes called "adaptation." But if adaptation alone were adequate for human life, the conception of character and life itself would have to be changed. Adaptability, pure and simple, is submissiveness. Aggression and assertion are equally a part of character, and in a great many circumstances are even more important. Character has three major components. They are *will, power,* and *endurance:* the will to create and direct conditions for life; the power to carry out the intent of the will; and the endurance necessary to withstand the resultant stress. Adjustment to life, as contrasted with adaptation, involves in varying degree these three factors. In adjustment, dynamic interactivity with environment takes place, which in turn strengthens character and develops personality. One overcomes outer resistances and creates conditions for his own life and for the lives of others. In adaptation, no such dynamic process takes place. One simply gives in to outer pressure.

Character as Disposition

The regulative principle involved in control of behavior is not a consciously formulated doctrine, though in adult life it becomes codified as custom or law. It is rather, as Prof. Roback expresses it, "a psychological *disposition* to inhibit instinctive impulses." Hence, the regulative principle is an unconscious attitude derived from the totality of experiences: the home, the school, playmates, all sorts of contacts with people, and the cultural ideology of the larger world. The regulative principle therefore emerges from all the purposeful and incidental influences that have been described in preceding pages and to which the individual is subjected throughout his life. The formation of these dispositions begins at birth and ends at death.

Character as Discipline

Interactions with various members within a group, with other groups, and with individuals make it necessary for one to react to them. These reactions become integrated into the character of each individual. The normal person soon discovers, perhaps unconsciously, the conditions under which social acceptance can be secured. We have already seen that group living requires subjugation of instinctive self-love and infantile power drives. As a result, many disciplines arise from group living, which imposes submission by the individual to the habits, convenience, or needs of others. There is very little that the individual, to whom social approbation is a prime and urgent necessity, can do to avoid this pressure. Thus the child matures through free dynamic relations with others.

Because competition looms so large in discussions of character building, brief mention of it will be made at this point. A more extensive discussion is postponed until the next chapter.

Competition undoubtedly played a very important part in man's biologic survival. It is still of importance to our ego in modern times. But as interdependence in society is ever increasing, the competitive motive is growing anachronous and even harmful to social welfare and to human progress. The competitive drive must be transformed into mutualistic impulse. It would be folly to assume that school and center, and even home, education can fully succeed in this. The values of our competitive, individualistic society with its ideals of *"success"* counteract the educators' and parents' efforts in this direction. The larger world, with its ambitions and its rewards for achievements in amassing money and gaining power, is stronger than are schools and centers. Education can however help individuals to discover at least intellectually the superiority of co-operation and group effort over selfishness and personal ambition. We can help them to realize that competitive incentives are imprudent not only from the standpoint of society, but are equally harmful to character.

Methods in Character Education

The means that society employs in training character are many. In the following pages are described briefly only a few of them.

Common character-training techniques consist of direct discipline and control by parents, teachers, and other adults in authority. The process is one of preachment, scolding, prohibition, repression, punishment. Although these direct methods produce immediate and noticeable results, it is doubtful if they help in the long run. Repressive measures most certainly retard personality development and quite likely also distort character.

Continual prohibitions and scoldings may deter expression of an impulse in a *specific* instance—we can make the child return a playmate's toy—but whence does the regulative principle to guide *all* behavior emerge? Those who believe in direct discipline wrongly assume that the child can abstract underlying principles from these prohibitions. In fact, we adults rationalize our more or less brutal treatment of children by *our* principles of good and bad, right and wrong. The child remains unconvinced, because these concepts have no real meaning to him. He is, however, left resentful toward authority, and is likely to remain that way for the rest of his life. Repression is not an effective tool for character training; the "regulative principle" must be *evolved* by everyone through interaction with environment and through contact with worth-while people. There are no short cuts in education. There is no royal road to perfection in character. We must accept as inevitable the long, rough, and tortuous path of imperceptible transformation of the native, un-social impulses of the child into socially useful qualities and patterns.

Another common technique for evolving the regulative principle for behavior consists of transmitting by word of mouth and by teaching rules for good and bad. It has been established, however, by studies and by common observation that definitions of right and wrong, setting up ideals, and "raising standards" by teaching are ineffective. Character, with the training of emotions that it involves, comes from dynamic experience with the world and with people. This contact is not limited to manipulative or constructional work alone, as many seem to think. It includes ideas, individuals, and groups that affect us emotionally and give us a philosophy of life: in a word, our whole culture.

Hartshorne and May found through actual tests of numerous children that "the mere urging of honest behavior by teachers or the discussion of standards and ideals of honesty, no matter how much general ideas may be 'emotionalized,' has no necessary relation to the control of conduct. The extent to which individuals may be affected, either for better or for worse, is not known; but there seems to be evidence that such effects as may result are not generally good and are sometimes unwholesome. . . . Prevailing ways of teaching ideals and standards probably do little good and may do harm when the ideals set before the pupils contradict the practical demands of the very situations in which the ideals are taught."

Conditioning attitudes that would lead to sound character and at the same time would not injure the total personality can be accomplished by less direct methods. First among these is the influence of adults who represent the best and the most wholesome attributes of our culture. This subject has been discussed so frequently in preceding pages that the mere mention of it will be enough at this point.

Second, among the more common types of experience in education that develop desirable dispositions is an active education, with consequent interaction with things and people. Whole-hearted activity with a purpose and with an objective is automatically disciplining. We must check the impulse to get quick results, for example. Many try to escape difficulties if they are not interested; but interest makes one stick to the job. These are important self-disciplining processes, and arise constantly when one has a real purpose. Purposiveness is an excellent check upon childlike desires and indulgences; and out of these checks character and maturity are built.

Third, communication, spontaneous co-operation, conflicts, and friendships always accompany free activity in a group. The continual inter-action of individuals in child-initiated occupations produces a great variety of other discipline situations as well. Discipline here is largely self-discipline, through which patterns of behavior for "getting on" with people are adopted. This interaction reaches its greatest peak where there is enthusiasm for one's own or other people's work.

Fourth, the solution of challenging problems is one of the character-developing experiences that school, community centers, and clubs are eminently equipped to supply. A natural challenge is one that carries the returns from achievement within itself, where no prizes and rewards are offered, and where social recognition is attached only incidentally. The solution of a mathematical problem, the painting of a picture, or writing a poem are challenges that arise from the inner desire to give form to ideas and emotions. Earning a living for one's self, supporting a family, finding an interest in life, bringing up children, getting along with difficult people are among the many challenges to adults.

EDUCATION FOR PARENTHOOD

The discovery that the home is the real school of character; that character is not the result of conscious training, but is rather an outcome of the subtle forces implicit in parental, sibling, and other relations, will be recognized in the future as one of the most significant contributions of this generation.

If well functioning character is to be acquired in children, they must be surrounded by adults who are integrated; able to hold their own impulses in check with ease; capable of depriving themselves of their own self-indulgences with poise; and meeting the inevitable vicissitudes of life with serenity. These attitudes are followed as patterns by the child. They also give him the all-important sense of security, the impairment of which is the greatest single cause of defective character.

The requirements for parenthood just noted are among the major objectives in character training; for, in a very real sense, parenthood is a test of character. No other single situation tries character so much. No other single situation requires the restraints, controls, and objectivity necessary here. There are, however, individuals seemingly "normal" in other respects who are incapable of parental functions through psychological constitution, just as some who otherwise wholesome are unable to adjust to a marital relation. With these exceptions, to become a successful parent should be the aim of every person who can also meet the prolonged financial responsibility involved. Emphasis must be laid, however, upon parenthood in a psychological sense rather than merely in a physical sense. Unfortunately, the two are not always found together.

Character development would be greatly aided if parents realized the significance of their own attitudes and the need for preparation for marriage and parenthood. Although, as already indicated, information and ideas, in themselves, do not necessarily assure a healthy management of the parent-child relation, some guidance can be gleaned from instruction and thought focused upon this all-important matter. The school and center should therefore incorporate in their work with youth and adults instruction and discussion as well as individual guidance on questions pertaining to marital and parental functions. We list from Dr. Glueck's paper[2] some major "attitudes" and (we might add) knowledge that are involved in the parent-child relation. These are: (1) attitudes regarding the nature and technique of parenthood; (2) attitudes regarding the nature of childhood; (3) attitudes regarding the problem of discipline; and (4) attitudes regarding sex.

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[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 730.

Education for parenthood has been included recently in the curricula of a few men's and women's colleges. However, direct academic instruction *only* in a subject so intricate and subtle may prove of little avail. Effective parenthood is based on feeling-knowledge as well as on fact-knowledge. It is a culmination of emotional organization rather than of thought. To gain from such studies, one should have first developed his own personality, his appreciative powers; and should know something about psychology and about child care.

The Ego Ideal

One of the major influences in character formation is the consciousness of the disparity between what one is and what one would like to be or fancies himself as being: his ego ideal. This ideal is derived from the family and from the larger social group. To a considerable extent this idealization of oneself and of one's strivings is derived at an early age from the child's idealization of his parents and other members of the family. Many of such strivings also come from associates and playmates. The chief characteristic of the ego ideal is that it is always ahead of oneself. This disparity between the ego status and its ideal gives one a feeling of inadequacy and of guilt. Some people resort to delinquency and crime as compensations for this feeling of guilt and inferiority. Withdrawal, exaggerated phantasy, boastfulness, impudence, aggressiveness, disobedience, rebelliousness, contrariness, argumentativeness, conceit, and other types of extravagant behavior are traceable to an effort to compensate for a sense of inadequacy in relation to the ideal of one's self.

A good education helps the individual to accept gracefully the unavoidable limitations of his personality, as well as the inevitable privations of life itself. The ego ideal and the real self must be gradually brought into alignment and the closer they are the healthier one is. We must develop ourselves to greater heights, but if necessary we must also reduce our ideals. The voluntary group, such as the informal club, the special activity group, the team, are more suitable for this than either the conventional classroom or the unsupervised gang. In the ordinary classroom ideals for deportment and achievement are set up by adults. This brings into relief the inadequacies and comparative inferiority of the majority of members in the class. The gang with its jungle law gives prominence to one or two of the gang leaders who become ideals for the other members. As contrasted with these, the activity club and classroom give each member a sense of personal worth as his special abilities are recognized and he is accepted by the group.

One of the components of the ego ideal is the striving to be fully accepted by the group and be *like and of the group.* Consciousness of difference begets feelings of anxiety and inferiority, the inferiority being as often imaginary as it is real. Thus, a superior trait, such as intellectuality, manifested at an age when physical prowess is held in esteem by boys may give one a sense of inferiority. Interest in poetry and the arts on the part of a boy of twelve nearly always calls forth derision from a group of that age, who dub him a "sissy."

Tolerance Toward Self

Difference is inherent in nature, and the higher the stage of evolutionary development, the greater are the possibilities for divergence. Difference among humans is inescapable, and each must evolve some techniques for accepting himself. Of a number of ways by which this can be done, the one that conforms best to the principles of mental hygiene is that of "natural compensation." By this method the individual is led to recognize fully his deficiencies; but, instead of giving himself up to self-derogation because of them, he is helped to find compensation in the virtues he possesses. He must learn to accept the fact that he cannot be "all things to all men." Thus, an integrated personality is tolerant of itself, as well as of others. It accepts its limitations as well as its assets. Objectivity toward self is an essential for wholesome character.

An education that aids in reconciling the ego status and the ego ideal is also helpful here. One needs to be accepted and to have a feeling of personal worth. Attitudes toward self are largely determined by group recognition. Favorable group opinion helps one to discover one's powers, talents, and abilities.

A program of education that activates traits of group value and that brings recognition minimizes the disparity between the ego ideal and the ego status. It reduces conflict and anxiety; it integrates personality, and brings one the necessary compensations for a feeling of inadequacy.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION

Foundations for Social Education

The development of a socialized personality is the end-purpose of all education. The problem that character educators in every generation have to face, however, is that sociality must emerge from deep-rooted self-love. It is their difficult task to find means of converting basic non-social and self-loving trends into social impulses. We have already seen that the child resists violently the invasion of the majesty of his ego. He is unaware of the rights and needs of others, and persistently resists the demands of the group upon him. Indeed, biologic trends and their psychologic derivatives seem to have a way of continuing on their own. They are hard to change or to modify, and education deals with such difficult problems as how to transform the ego drives into social will; how to convert dependence trends into mature responses, and similar processes.

As we analyzed the educable elements of personality in Chapter V, we found that the self-loving factors predominated over the social motives. This division in the basic nature of man adds greatly to the difficulty of personality education. The principle to follow here is that of *orderly development*. To reach the ultimate goal, the social organization of the will, it is necessary (1) that the child's dynamic and activity drives are fully satisfied; (2) that his love-needs are met; (3) that his ego requirements are fulfilled; and (4) that his social (dependence) feelings are guided. The pleasure urge, which accompanies all adequate functioning and is basic to human cravings, must be gratified through education. We have seen that society can socialize people better by satisfying their egoistic needs first, and not by starving and repressing them. We have also seen that the satisfactions of instincts, desires, drives, and tendencies are accompanied by a sense of pleasure which is nature's bribe; for, if it were not for these pleasures, some acts essential to life would not be performed. The pleasure tendency is the major motive for animal behavior; it is probably also the chief reason for human endeavor as well, though some individuals (such as martyrs) contradict this principle.

Children seek direct pleasure. The child's activity is consistent and intense because it yields him pleasure. The pleasure component is ever present in the satisfactions of native drives and acquired tendencies. Character education should be largely pleasurable through the satisfaction of the motor, ego, and social needs; for the most effective educational practices are those that yield ultimate pleasure, though difficulties and pain may be involved during the process of reaching the desired ends.

If the child's instinctive needs are fulfilled and his experiences with group situations are mainly pleasant in the home, at school, and in other contacts, his will becomes organized in alliance with society. However, if primary urges are frustrated and, or, early relationships are painful, resentment and hostility are set up, which result in anti-social attitudes.

Social v. Societal Education

It is necessary to distinguish here between social and societal people. The latter are those who conform to the social pattern. They adopt all the manners, amenities, and values of the group, but lack a true social feeling. They are not identified strongly with either individuals or groups, but externally act *as if* they were. Their voices may be gentle, their greetings friendly, their social graces impeccable, and their views and values in every detail like those that predominate. They are to a considerable extent mass-minded individuals. Social persons, on the other hand, may not present such a picture of external conformity and fitness. They may be at odds with prevailing ideas and may even find themselves in conflict with some individuals. Their inner motivations in life, however, are truly social. Though apparently they act as if they are egoistic, they actually have strong social tendencies, and are strongly identified with the world around them. Their inner values are group values, and their aim in life is social improvement.

However, it is not necessary that one conform to the exaggerated picture drawn here. Individuals usually fall somewhere between these two extremes. What is important is to recognize the fact that conformists are not necessarily socially-motivated any more than the mass-minded are; that they are rather either submissive or designing and sly. The *socialized person* acts out his real self. His actions are an expression of true being. In a *societal person* actions and behavior conform to prevalent patterns; inner drives may operate quite to the contrary.

Organic Bases for Socialization

In any realistic discussion of the socialized personality, cognizance must be taken of two factors: the unconscious motives and the degree of one's capacity to become socialized. The first we have already described; we shall now discuss briefly the second.

The capacity to become socialized is not the same in all people. Omitting for the present the fluctuations that result from such temporary conditions as mood, change, health, and temporary emotional dislocation, each individual is constitutionally predisposed to shed his original egocentricity to a degree limited by his own nature. "Living matter," says Dr. Bernard Glueck, "carries within itself its life destiny; to be sure only in broad outline. In the human being this innateness with which he comes into life has reached greater complexity."

We have already stated that bio-chemistry and medicine offer evidence that emotions are intimately related to the presence or absence of certain chemicals in the body and that feeling-tone is strongly affected by glandular secretions. The egoic personality is the personality that cannot disassociate itself from any condition in life, personal or social. It interprets everything in terms of itself, and projects ego and power drives to all situations. This may be caused by either of two conditions, or by a combination of both. One is the unconscious drives accentuated by early experiences; the second, kinesthenic conditions generated by muscle tension and glandular imbalance. Illustrations of the latter are sick people. With rare exceptions, such persons are more self-indulgent, more "selfish" than when they are well. They are more sensitive, more irritable, less tolerant, less considerate, less social, than in health. The sick lose many of the "virtues" that guide their conduct and reactions at other times.

This phenomenon can be explained in either of two ways.

One explanation is that, when the controls that hold the egoistic and sadistic tendencies in check are weakened by illness, fatigue, or some other debility, the original trends take precedence over the culturally acquired controls over them. Another possible reason is that illness, fatigue, and like physical strain unbalance the kinesthenic action in the body, actually destroying the harmony within it. When it is balanced, the organism is "non-conscious" of itself; its unbalance causes preoccupation with the strain that comes of it, which in turn sets up anxiety. This increases ego-consciousness and egocentricity.

There are persons who are thus permanently imbalanced; they are *physiologically anxious.* These persons cannot be expected to be so receptive to socializing influences as are those who are naturally placid and relaxed.

This brief treatment of the biologic basis of sociality reveals the fact that social behavior and refined emotions cannot be expected from all alike. Variation in degree and intensity is inevitable. The understanding parent and educator therefore evaluate achievement in terms of original capacity; they recognize that even here individuals differ. However, within the limitations of original capacity, experience greatly influences attitudes.

Methods of Social Education

The simplest method of societal education (and the one that is most in vogue) consists of formal instruction in precepts. Abstract principles for conduct are "drilled" into the child's mind, in the expectation that he will adopt them as behavior guides. In one book on the "social" training of children in the home, in the school, and in the community the authors outline "graded virtues" to be taught to children at various ages. They specify the school grade when each virtue and the corresponding vice should be called to the pupil's attention by preachment, direct training, and story telling. Among the virtues outlined are: obedience, respect, truthfulness, honesty, good manners, helpfulness, love, gratitude, loyalty, justice, kindness, co-operation, friendliness, sympathy, respect for property, school loyalty, public spirit, heroism, charitableness, kindness to animals. Among the vices graded for different age levels are disobedience, disrespect, untruthfulness, dishonesty, bad manners, selfish indifference, lack of affection, ingratitude, disloyalty, injustice, unkindness, selfishness, envy, jealousy, discourteousness, lack of co-operation, disregard of property, school disloyalty, uncharitableness, indifference to public welfare, cowardice, cruelty to animals.

It is very doubtful if true sociality can be taught by precept or by story telling. A sense of social responsibility that will pervade every act and every motive is attained only by more fundamental appeals. There is general agreement among enlightened educators that precepts are taught to children long before they can comprehend them, and evidence from the behavior of man indicates that conduct is a result of attitudes rather than of principles. People act upon their emotions and not in accord with definitions. Courses in ethics, religion, and morals for adults are not a whit more effective in social education than are the shorter precepts taught to children. "When dishonesty is rewarded, dishonesty is practised."

The diffusion of the principles of the newer education has given rise to conflicting ideas as to appropriate methods for achieving the ends of social education. There are those who still hold that direct training, indoctrination, and drill are appropriate means; others suggest that the adult must completely withdraw. The first, the authoritarian method, discourages social participation and in our judgment checks personality development. The second is one of *laissez faire*. If practised fully, it results in maudlin and ineffective groping to solve problems that young people in their inexperience are unable to cope with by themselves.

A method must be employed that will be positive in its effect, but at the same time be devoid of authoritarianism. Specifically, what are the means through which educative centers, activity schools, clubs, and special-interest groups can foster and intensify the native collective drives of the human personality into patterns of social living and collective emotions and principles? These can be classified under six categories: (1) freedom of function; (2) group activity; (3) group co-activity; (4) noncompetitive values; (5) self-government; and (6) communal participation.

1. FREEDOM OF FUNCTION.

With the growth of the newer psychology, education, and sociology there has come a recognition that social attitudes grow through intimate face-to-face associations and inversely with the opaqueness of the media of communication. "Thus the contacts of youth with youth . . . where the individuals possess differing ideas but similar ideals and ambitions, form an intensity of stimulus which cannot be equalled by the more distant and indirect contacts of student and professor, hedged about as they are by convention and formalized by lecture-room methods. It is this intimacy of inter-student relationships, fostered by direct and transparent means of communication, that leads the college graduate to look back so fondly on his undergraduate life."[1] Unrestricted communication, discussion, exchange of views, criticism, praise, spontaneous helpfulness, and co-operation give expression to the social strivings.

Contacts and personality interactions are most effective if they occur as a result of real situations. This point was brought to attention on several occasions in preceding pages. We have pointed out another fact that bears upon our present discussion: namely, the nature of interaction and, especially, its content differ with age, sex, and developmental levels. Hence, social education for young children may consist of handwork in a socialized workshop, club room, or gymnasium; group projects, group singing, dramatics, or just free play and communication. Their counterpart in adult education is participation in movements for social betterment, in political parties, and the numerous avocational interests of the modern world.

2. GROUP ACTIVITY.

Group activity and individual function in a group environment have their greatest value as educative means if carried on in a free face-to-face relation. This point has also been repeatedly stressed throughout this volume. Activity education inevitably leads to interests that engage a varying number of the members or an entire group. Such experiences result in far-reaching social attitudes. If they do not occur spontaneously, the group should be encouraged to undertake group projects.

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[1] Smith, Walter R., "Social Education in the Schools Through Group Activities," Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XIII, 1919, p. 86.

This can be done either through the group itself or through such agencies as club and school councils.

3. GROUP CO-ACTIVITY VERSUS INTER-GROUP ACTIVITY.

The ends of personality development, social education, and character training can best be served through co-operation of groups as well as of individual members in the group. Rather than urging school and club groups to compete for achievement, excellence, and recognition, educators increasingly are encouraging groups to work on common projects for mass achievement. This method can be designated as *group co-activity* as distinguished from inter-group activity. Group co-activity occurs where more than one group are engaged for a common purpose. Projects such as mass singing, dramatics, parties, dances, lectures, trips, raising funds for charitable or other purposes, planning benefits for school, center, or other community needs, are among those that promote group co-activity. It may take the form of one group inviting others as guests to meetings, entertainments, and other affairs. Group co-activity may also assume a much wider scope such as financing and managing all or part of the school or center work, or initiating and carrying out programs for community reforms. The idea of group co-activity may expand into inter-school or inter-center leagues, into national youth movements, and into concerted mass participation in larger social and world problems.

Mass action has been shown to be the most effective instrumentality for social improvement and social regeneration. In a democratic society it is the most telling means for preventing social injustice and abuse. The training for it—for unified, collective, and co-ordinated action—should be at once the purpose and the means of a good education. It is thought by some that mass action is unsuitable for children. The present writer's observations lead him to the conclusion that it is a valid pattern for persons of all ages and stages, *provided they have a conscious, well-formulated and understood purpose, which concerns them deeply, intimately, and directly,* and are not actuated by drives overemotionalized by demagogues. Thus, playground facilities, better school lunches, better organized playtime in schools, and better treatment by teachers can become issues for mass action by children and youths. Furthermore, in the writer's opinion, young people should be encouraged to launch and participate in such movements. Through them they learn to co-operate with others in worth-while enterprises; they discover the true meanings of a democracy; they develop an active interest in the government and its agencies; they become conscious of their own powers to improve the world they live in; and they develop a desire to improve it.

One instance of such action by children may be fruitful at this point. A series of fires occurred in quick succession in the congested East Side of New York City. In one of these, two children were burnt to death, along with a number of adults. A local settlement house organized a parade of the playmates of these children, who had been members of the house, to the City Hall to demand better housing conditions for themselves and their friends. Their placards read: "Our Friends Have Burnt to Death"; "We Don't Want to Burn"; "We Want Better Homes." The parade was preceded by two children who were particular friends and chums of the victims. Obviously, mass action is quite justifiable where the calamity touches participants so closely irrespective of age.

4. NON-COMPETITIVE VALUES.

In a world of increasing interdependence, the competitive spirit is decreasingly suitable to character education. An evolving world demands socialized personalities rather than egocentric, competition-driven individuals. A program of education, therefore, which emphasizes and glorifies competition does not represent the aims of the modern mutualistic world. This and similar views are being gradually incorporated in the ideology of schools as well as in character-training agencies. We quote John R. Lund, Superintendent of Schools in Newton, Mass.: "We must attack our social problems from a different angle than we have in the past. The old era of destructive competition is ended. The present economic mess in which we find ourselves is proof that as adults we haven't done a very good job. We want to provide a lifelike situation in our schools. In the future a child will compete against himself instead of against others. Educationally there is absolutely no point in compelling children to compete against each other; in fact, to do so is vicious and harmful. Under our new system, there is just one question to be asked: is the child doing the best of which he is capable? If he is, then he is attaining success. Some of the pupils' reactions to the changed point of view and practices have been obtained. In the social-study classes the pupils were asked to write their opinions, either for or against the new system. (Names were not put on papers.) . . . Here are two typical pupil reactions: 'If you make a mistake now it isn't held against you, it just teaches you to avoid it in the future.' And, 'The reason I like no marks is that you are not preparing your work to get a mark, you are preparing it for yourself.' "[2]

The Newton school system is only one of a large number where efforts are being made by forward-looking educators to eliminate the competitive motive in learning. Educators who are aware of the new demands being made on a sorely tried and suffering mankind realize that the competitive and the exploittive motives are the immediate causes of human degradation. They are therefore attempting to remedy the situation in the area for which they are responsible, though a full solution of these problems will require fundamental changes in the prevailing social and economic plan.

Strangely enough, character-building agencies that are seemingly concerned with the social development of their members encourage interclub, class, and school competition in athletics, debates, art exhibits, essays, hobbies, handicrafts, publications, and various other skills. Recognition of achievement consists of banners, medals, cups, plaques, and other material and tangible things. The more modern view opposes such prize-motivated effort. It holds that activity and effort should not be rewarded in this manner, but should rather be ends in themselves. Enlightened character education satisfies the desire for recognition by less direct methods. In an active and creative group each member has an opportunity to attract attention to himself through his special talents. Both the achievements and the participation in the group meet the individual's desire for self-expression and self-assertion. The group should be permeated with a feeling-relation similar to that of a good family.

5. SELF-GOVERNMENT AND SELF-DIRECTION.

Self-government in clubs, schools, and in the center increases opportunities for personality interaction; it aids the discovery of the methods and techniques of social living; increases responsibility and purpose; and motivates group function and co-operation. Here members discover the tools and methods of social living and social purposing. The value of self-government also consists in its capacity to develop self-reliance, which makes young people independent of adults, thus helping them to mature.

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[2] The *New York Times*, Sunday, January 2, 1934.

The extent of self-government for children and young people should be determined by their degree of readiness for it. Adult guidance in self-government is essential for constructive, satisfying results and for the progressive development of group activity. Even "purposeful" groups of young people are often inadequate on the organizational side, and need help from qualified adults. However, it must always be kept in mind that the true objective of educational leadership is to eliminate itself by helping pupils become self-sufficient and mature.

The basic principle in social education revolves around the question whether schools and leisure-time agencies are conducted *for* the members or *by* the members. This decision is being increasingly forced upon character-building agencies. It is necessary for the ends of social education, for example, that the authority of the boards of directors of philanthropic centers and their staffs be curtailed as far as practicable and more power, with responsibility, shifted to the members of groups in accordance with their age and readiness to assume them. This suggestion undoubtedly involves various matters of serious import, such as "politics" and vested interests. But if philanthropists and board members aim to educate youth for social responsibility, they must permit schools and centers to become the training grounds for it. The school-extension and leisure education are the logical influences at present to re-educate the competitive and egoistic attitudes fostered in many homes and in the ordinary classroom. Initiative and imagination cannot flourish where the spirit of authoritarianism and repression prevail. Those who are affected by programs should be encouraged to participate in the construction of such programs.

To be effective in socializing personality, responsibility must be real and unconditional. If we encourage children to assume responsibility, we must do so in good faith. Members' plans, if impracticable or injurious, are matters for discussion between them and the adults in charge. Arbitrariness has no place in this scheme. If adult veto is exercised indiscriminately, the concept of authority and social leadership is distorted. Instead of a sense of co-operativeness, a feeling of resentment is engendered. This defeats the purpose of the entire project. Initiative can hardly be expected from young people if they are frustrated in their efforts. Responsibility cannot be borne without power. Truth cannot be discovered without error, but truth is more likely to emerge from error than from confusion and resentment. Initiative is the most certain method of engaging interest and social participation: the membership should therefore be encouraged to originate activities in social and other fields. If there must be restrictions upon pupils in a school or members in a center, it is better to outline these in advance. This will prevent disappointment, and will place the adults in a relation of honesty with the children. Above all, educators must be honest with those entrusted to their charge.

It is not sufficient, as is commonly the practice, to set up mechanics for self-government through councils and committees unless they are also given the power to carry out decisions. Real power is necessary for real responsibility. Such power is an incentive for origination. Structurally, many institutions and some schools are organized for pupil-participation, although functionally they are adult-dominated. Committees, leagues, and councils exist; but their decisions and plans are subject to staff veto. Democratic organization alone is insufficient for the ends of developing initiative and responsibility. More important than a plan is the feeling of belonging that the school or institution gives their staffs and the children.

6. COMMUNAL PARTICIPATION.

In an adequate social education the insularity of the small group—the family, club, special activity group, school, and center—evolves into the inclusiveness and universality of world affairs. The feeling of responsibility gradually extends to include civic interests: the neighborhood, community, national, and world affairs. Education's aim is to direct social impulses into action for social betterment. Since social development is one of the primary aims of education, the evolvement of wider social responsibility is also its concern. Problems that affect the city, the state, nation, and the world must be brought to the attention of young people for discussion and action. Free discussion of these is essential in true education. Every point of view must be heard—conservative, liberal, radical and revolutionary—in order that everyone may clarify and orient his mind to these problems on a basis of authentic knowledge and clear understanding. "The settlement," says Fleming in his *Philosophy of Settlements,* "is to be an energizing force by virtue of its own spirit, by means of its students entering the wider life of active citizenship, and by patiently watching over the institutions of the neighborhood and seizing every opportunity for the development of the community spirit." Effective social function posits clarity of thought, emotional freedom, and an awareness of *all* the factors involved. Understanding and conviction form the dual foundation for social dynamism and leadership.

As the members grow older they should be encouraged to participate intelligently and consciously in the work of the world. We cannot expect them to continue at "play activity" indefinitely. They must take their place in the larger world on a basis of conviction and clear knowledge. It is the duty of educators to open the avenues through which unbiased and honest understanding of such problems can be acquired. Here, too, inclusion of matters pertaining to the larger world environment is determined by the readiness of the members to comprehend and to participate in them. Readiness may depend partly upon chronological age, but more upon emotional maturity and factual knowledge. Educators are becoming increasingly aware of their failure in the past to turn out in considerable numbers integrated, forward-looking men and women, intellectually hospitable, with civic consciousness and social vision.

Instead of socialized personalities aware of, and deeply concerned with, the welfare of the human race, its needs and with world progress, schools have been developing rugged individualists, fired by personal ambitions and dreams of personal success. The march of events makes the displacement of this personalism by mutualism imperative not only for the welfare of the race but to an increasing degree also for the survival of the individual. The failure of schools to equip their pupils and students for the more serious purposes of life is characterized succinctly by Professor Horace Kallen as follows: "Tradition allows the college man certain privileges and protects his abuse of them. Like the infant, he is held not accountable for violations of the adult social code. He is maintained in a state of infantile irresponsibility. This state is even more significant, if not so conspicuous in the matter of the basic economy of life. For the representative undergraduate does not keep himself. He does not earn his food, and clothing, and shelter, and entertainment. Again, like the infant, he is a sheer consumer, not producer. Veblen would call him an instrument of 'conspicuous consumption' and a foremost avatar of the leisure class."[3]

Schools and colleges have divorced opinion from fact, information from knowledge, learning from life. They have ignored the pressing problems of the world, and substituted in their stead matters of sophomoric and theoretic concern, assuming that education can take place *in vacuo*. But in spite of this isolation, world problems have infiltrated into the cloistered atmosphere of secondary schools and institutions of higher learning, so that in the words of Kallen, "every college . . . has its tiny liberal group, its sparse collection of students who trouble themselves with social problems, international relations, disarmament, and the like. This group is usually looked upon as a trouble-making nuisance by the college administration. . . . 'Political and social agitation,' declares a Yale senior who had degraded himself by concern with such agitation, 'is frowned upon by undergraduate leaders, and consequently relegated to the obscurity of almost clandestine off-campus coteries.' "

Education for social ends would be almost entirely negated if it adopted the attitude characterized above; for its chief function is to help maturity through adequate and challenging activity, problem-setting occupations, and graded responsibility. Social and world interests are inherent to the mature mind; they also aid maturity. It is therefore the duty of education not only to supply information on social matters, but also to cultivate a social sense. Information and knowledge alone are no guarantee of social participation. Facts do *not* supply the motive for action. One may possess wide stores of vital information and lack the impulse to eradicate existing evils. To the extent of individual capacities, character-education agencies must aim to engender honesty of purpose, conviction, social imagination, receptivity to change, and a creative drive in matters social. It must be kept in mind that these attributes are not products of the intellect alone: they are the outcome of an integrated, vital, and evolved personality.

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[3] *College Prolongs Infancy,* John Day Company, New York, 1932, p. 23.

Social interests, once aroused, must be made functional and practical; they must not remain in the realm of abstractions. The *law of function* in education operates in adult occupations as thoroughly as it does in the manual and play activities of children. Discussion is to be considered only as a preliminary to action; study as antecedent to participation. Adults and members of "senior age" in centers are ready, if properly motivated, to join (either as individuals or as groups) already existing social and political organizations. They are able to initiate movements such as those for better housing, better recreational facilities, anti-graft legislation, fire prevention. They can participate in municipal affairs such as taxation, education, good roads, public utilities, and kindred matters in state legislation and national policies aiming at improving conditions of the masses. The relations of capital and labor and international affairs, war and munitions, imperialism and national-tribalism, can come under their scrutiny. It is important to bear in mind, however, that *talk which does not lead to action is abortive effort.* The technique of a good education is active and dynamic. It does not escape into words.

It will be noted that the school and the center have been discussed here as *social laboratories.* They are viewed as training institutions for constructive participation in the larger world. We quote again from Fleming: "The settlement itself should be in miniature a demonstration of the life it desires to see in the wider world. . . . This atmosphere must emanate from the wardens and the staff, and the student members be encouraged to contribute to and maintain." The center and the school can be considered as cultural settings similar to that of the larger world, but *simplified and levelled down to the powers, abilities, and understanding of children and young people.* Therefore, the modern school and center possess the characteristics of this extended world so modified as to make them compatible with growing capacities and comprehensions. They supply experiences with democracy and its practical problems, and offer opportunities for self-discovery in relation to the larger social setting. Only when educational institutions view themselves as preparation grounds for life through adequate living and social functioning can they fully carry out their mission. Social living is not an inborn trait; it must be acquired, as all other tools of living must be acquired, empirically. The home, the school, and neighborhood center are among the agencies through which this is achieved.

CHAPTER X

OTHER EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES

In this chapter other educational objectives that are pertinent to our general topic will be briefly considered. They are: vocational guidance; avocational interests; to refine selective capacity; to develop creative power and creative imagination; to develop leadership; to develop a sense of reality; to develop intellectual hospitality; the emergence of a philosophy of life.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

Elsewhere in this volume we have indicated how important it is for education to serve as an interest-finding agency. Schools and centers must do what they can under the circumstances to help the individual discover a congenial occupation and to prepare him to become as good at it as possible. In fact, this is becoming one of the major functions of modern education. It is becoming more and more evident that the first condition for happiness is finding for one's self a useful place in life and filling it competently. Vocational guidance has been the subject of exhaustive and minute studies in recent years by many able and expert men and women in many fields. It has been studied from every point of view—physical, psychological, criminological, mathematical, economical, and sociological. The reader is referred to the extensive literature dealing with these subjects. At this point, and in a volume such as this is, only a few general thoughts can be suggested. It also is hoped that the reader will not misunderstand the statements that follow as an attack upon *placement* of the idle in jobs. We cannot let them starve to death while we are educating them.

Most vocational guidance agencies are greatly handicapped by economic conditions and by the limitations of their knowledge and outlook in helping people. They still confine themselves largely to listing vacancies and filling them with applicants in order of registration. Even those institutions that attempt to make guidance "scientific" do so chiefly by testing and measuring with a view of ascertaining specific aptitudes and traits. They then "recommend" individuals for jobs in which these special aptitudes are most needed. Although this method seems reasonable, and is often the only one possible under the conditions of modern life and the overwhelming numbers in search of jobs, many doubt the effectiveness of such a technique.

Choice of vocation, they think, should be rather an outcome of self-discovery, of a wide background of acquaintance with many types of interests, and of a rich educational background. This plan is in consonance with the premises of modern education; and, although indirect, it would lead to a vocation most suitable and satisfying to the individual. The method of self-discovery is particularly appropriate at a time when entry into industry, business, and professions is postponed, as it is today by economic necessity, by the extension of the compulsory school age, and by more rigid pre-professional and educational requirements.

Another situation that favors indirect vocational guidance is especially indigenous to the modern world. With the extension of mechanized industry, permanence in any given trade is practically non-existent. Because of industrial instability, extensive preparation for expertness in many of the occupations is inadvisable. Elimination of entire crafts, changes in processes, substitution of labor by machinery, and other such factors make it rather more desirable to educate young people for versatility rather than for specialization. Under these conditions adjustability and resourcefulness are more important than expertness. This is almost equally true in the professions, especially those closely dependent upon industry: architecture, engineering, chemistry, and the like.

For psychological reasons, this is equally true. Here, too, the objective methods seem inadequate. Very often a preference is determined not by talent and ability but rather by identifications with adults, by a feeling of inferiority, or by an exaggerated need for social recognition. A son may choose to be a lawyer simply because his father is one; a boy may refuse to study medicine just because a disliked brother is a successful physician; a girl may set her heart on becoming a movie actress to outdo a more attractive and popular sister. Not infrequently these drives accomplish more than do talents, and although many persons do base their choice on such psychological causes, the greatest satisfactions come from putting to use one's *real* talents and resources. These are the foundation upon which a plan of life should be based.

In spite of the foregoing principle, which is generally true, we must recognize, however, that emotionally determined interests are also a valid basis for choosing a life-work, providing they at the same time coincide to some extent, at least, with natural abilities and yield a feeling of constructive achievement. In general, it may be assumed that the greatest satisfactions accrue from a work in consonance with one's talents.

In a large number of instances, objective tests are not reliable guides. They fail to uncover deeper psychological drives and interferences with normal functioning on the job; they are unable to uncover the needs of the total personality; and they reveal *type* of ability rather than *specific* capacity. The self-directive choice of an occupation is more likely to do all this, and vocational preferences should be made on the basis of a variety of experience and a good schooling. It should be the culmination of wide learnings, many contacts, and an objective understanding of one's self. In this light, school and informal education loom as a unique influence in the life of the individual. The latter especially, being free of all curricular restraints, can bring the boy and girl in contact with a great many phases of the world's work through the activities of its cultural and educational work. Through studies, discussions, trips, contact with individuals from various walks of life, lectures and demonstrations, a more direct activity program, and through individual psychological guidance, informal education prepares one to make a proper choice of an occupation.

Only one more aspect of vocational guidance will be pointed out here and that only briefly. Because of economic and industrial circumstances, many young people are unable to find jobs. As a result, they may (and many of them do) develop a feeling of inadequacy and inferiority. We have already seen that joblessness is a form of social rejection. Many persons feel unworthy of having a job just because they do not have one. With this feeling usually comes also a feeling of guilt: one does not meet his obligations to self and others, and he therefore feels guilty for not discharging them. Add to these feelings of guilt and inferiority those of insecurity and fear, and you have a personality distorted as much as you can short of actual psychoses or insanity.

To the present writer it appears that to relieve these emotional conflicts is one of the chief functions of vocational education. Young people, especially, must be led to accept the fact that, under modern conditions, unemployment does not carry with it social stigma nor proof of personal failure; that they are victims of circumstances beyond any one person's control. It must be impressed upon them that joblessness in no way challenges their worth as persons, provided they are otherwise constructive to society and are willing and ready to discharge their obligations when the possibilities present themselves.

Avocational Interests

Although the choice of a suitable vocation is of utmost importance to happiness, vocations alone, no matter how well chosen, are not sufficient to satisfy all the needs of man. A developed personality is variegated and diversified; its interests are multiple, and require appropriately multiple expression.

The requirements for constructive avocational occupations are being increasingly emphasized by the trend in social and industrial developments. The enforced idleness of the past is being displaced by an ever-increasing amount of earned leisure, because of shorter hours of work, vacations, seasonal occupations, and the like. Increased leisure, with the resultant need for non-profit-making interests, makes avocational interests ever more important. Even today numerous and serious problems are being created by the unoccupied time of large numbers of the world's population. Education is already confronted with the problem of filling the time of those millions who are either altogether idle, or whose leisure has been increased by shortened work hours. Idleness with no abiding interests is proving to be a social and psychological menace resulting in increased delinquency, crime, drunkenness, and immorality. Even those who are not susceptible to serious degeneration waste their time and energies in fruitless amusements or sheer idleness. Though they do not constitute social pathology, they, too, fail to develop those attributes of personality upon which a vigorous nation is built. We refer here to excessive card-playing, excessive "movie" going, lounging about in cafes and saloons, competitive games, reading of "cheap" literature, etc.

In describing this situation, Professor Daniel Gregory Mason says: "Perhaps most insidious . . . is the faded emotional state, seldom consciously recognized, that results from industrial monotony and denial of personal initiative. The fatigue-poisoned mind and body, too dull to enjoy quiet beauty and true thought, crave the crude excitements so abused among us: restless speeding in motor cars from nowhere to nowhere; the rapid movements and trivial but exciting physical dangers of the amusement park; superlatives and exaggerations in talk; the artificial stimulants and feverish pumped-up gayety of the 'wild party'; the thrills so insistently demanded by the young generations. . . . The 'jazz age,' in a word, is a faded and joyless age, incapable of the happy serenity of creative leisure."[1]

A vital education in home, in school, and in the community arouses the finer responses and gives them content and direction for use in everyday life. This is the long-term program of education. Its immediate problem is one of creating opportunities for simple appealing occupations calling for both brawn and brain. Such facilities as socialized gymnasiums, adult group games, classes, lectures, various kinds of theatricals, a variety of vocational classes, parent education, and numerous similar interests are needed. School and neighborhood centers are in some instances responding to these needs of their localities, and are carrying on education for constructive leisure. This necessitates that the buildings be used all day as well as in the evening. In these centers and schools, vocational classes and academic subjects are taught on more or less didactic lines; but at present the attendance and participation in these activities are still greatly motivated by a desire to improve one's qualifications for employment. This situation will undoubtedly remedy itself in the future. For a further discussion of this topic as it relates to adults, the reader is referred to Chapter XI, dealing with adult education.

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[1] *The Dilemma of American Music.* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928, pp. 210 *et seq.*

To Refine Selective Capacity

The ancients believed that man is made up of two parts: the good and the evil. These were trends or compulsions, if you will, through which he made his own choice in life. He was free to follow the creator of evil or of good within his own personality; the selection was entirely in his own hands. All he had to do was to exercise his inherent will, which, by the way, was a third of the God-given elements of personality. By using this will he could cast out all of the evil in his nature.

From what we know of man's nature today, however, we can accept only one of the foregoing premises. Man can be either good or evil, but it would be difficult to justify the assumption that he is free to choose. The choice is determined, as we now know, by both outer conditions and inner organic dispositions. The combination of these forces *sets the will.* Will is an outcome of good or bad health, glandular balance or imbalance, influences of the home and other group life, and cultural atmosphere. Whether a person patterns his life through the creator of good or the instigator of evil within himself—his biological compulsions or moral criteria—is a matter of accident and circumstance, for we know that there is no *free* will. Will is conditioned and set by the nature of the individual and by the forces that shaped and organized the numerous components of his personality. The choices he makes cannot be attributed to the perversity or goodness of one's nature, but rather to the strivings and values emphasized in one's micro-cultures and macro-culture.

One of the major objectives of enlightened education is to set the will toward desirable social impulses. This is accomplished in part by refining the individual's *selective capacity.* It is necessary that we develop in the child and youth a preference for the better things in life. In a complex and variegated world, such as the present world is, a multitude of opportunities present themselves to the individual for vocational and avocational interests out of which he makes a choice. The choice of associations, avocations, amusements, and other contacts with the world is determined by the organization of the will and the direction in which interests are developed. Thus, destructive activity and criminal associations may be (and usually are) determined by early influences and by the character of the educative experiences.

Similarly, constructive social function and more evolved interests are ordinarily an outcome of past functions and interests. We believe that *the result of a good education should be a capacity on the part of the individual to select from his environment the most socially worth-while elements.* It may be said that education ends when this selective capacity is established. The purpose of formal and informal education is to aid the individual to become self-reliant and self-directive; to be able to guide and control his own life satisfactorily to himself and to society. When education fails in this, it fails in its true and most basic purpose.

Activity in a controlled environment is one of the most certain methods of affecting taste and a sense of values for the choice of socially desirable and aesthetically-satisfying preferences. The development of a sense of values is perhaps the highest ideal of education. This task is doubly difficult because higher values run contrary to many of the established ambitions and rewarded achievements of present-day society. The selective capacity is closely tied up with character, particularly with its resistive aspects, and with taste. Taste, however, cannot be handed down or taught. It must be cultivated by consistent exposure of the learner to the beautiful and the true, and by prolonged contact with cultivated and honest people. Taste is an outcome of refinement of sensibilities. In the informal education of the home, club, center, and school, the refining influence must be continued.

The school and community center, therefore, become miniature worlds in which an aesthetic as well as a social environment prevails. Here is a world of art, literature, science, wisdom, and fine human relations. An educational agency therefore must contain within itself those elements of the larger world that are designed to improve personality and to exclude those that brutalize and degrade it. This task would require a specially planned environment and a carefully selected personnel.

The environment of the center and school must be one of order, cleanliness, and simplicity. It must provide opportunities for the expression of a variety of interests in manual, aesthetic, and intellectual pursuits. The staffs of educational institutions, in addition to knowing their specialties, must be persons of culture, of superior educational background, fully socialized individuals, with a breadth of vision and interests, of deep human sympathies and understanding, and possessing an evolved philosophy of life. It is only in such an environment that we can guide our youth toward a constructive, rich, and vital adulthood that will enable them to select out of their environment finer and more social interests and pursuits.

To Develop Creative Power and Creative Imagination

The entire set-up and work of progressive programs in schools and in leisure-time education is designed to increase creative power through the performance of interesting tasks with originality. Since specific curricula are subordinated here or are altogether absent, the creative drives can be expressed through manual work in various forms, through social activity, and through intellectual effort. Through these means imagination and power are increased and become dominant in one's life. Observation shows that creative imagination in some direction or other is always present in normal young people. All that is required for their development are favorable working conditions and stimulating adults. Creation consists of the reorganization of existing elements into new combinations and in the use of materials in accordance with one's ideas and feelings. Education must seek to accomplish two things here: (1) it must preserve, encourage, and dignify emotion and thought, for these give rise to aestheticism, intellectuality, and a progressive social outlook; and (2) it should develop the power to transform "a vague idea or an emotion over into terms of some definite medium," i.e., to teach skills for expressing thought and emotion.

We have seen that one of the components of character is power to carry out the intention of the will. To strive without the capacity to achieve what one desires is a sure sign of a defective personality. Such striving takes the form of day-dreaming, and divorces one from reality. Action-impulse is converted into thought and fancy that do not take practical or effective form. One "dreams of acts instead of acting out one's dreams." Such persons compare themselves with others who are active and successful, and find themselves lacking. Their ego-feelings and their sense of self-worth are at a low ebb. It is therefore necessary that, by methods already indicated, the total educational experience of the child should develop power and initiative.

Power is developed through successful exercise of power. The curriculum of a child-assertive school and center consists of a series of self-chosen or assigned tasks that engage whole-hearted interest, are inherently progressive, and set difficulties and problems commensurate with the child's ability to overcome or to solve them. Education must prevent the child from becoming not only a mundane person, but also an unhappy one.

To Develop Leadership

Another aim of a dynamic education is development of the capacity for leadership in those who have a drive in this direction. "Natural" leaders should find in a creative group a field for function. Group leadership ought not be, however, the only type. Leadership in creative art and manual work, in sports and skills, in literature and music receives equal recognition here. Leaders in one pursuit may be intelligent followers in another. The urge to lead in all group situations is usually a manifestation of neurosis requiring individual treatment. Constructive leadership includes awareness of the group, its needs, its balanced reactions. The creative school and the educative center should seek to develop leaders in the cause of social improvement and civic expression, but at the same time implant a discriminative sense as a protection from demagogues and self-seeking politicians.

A very evident by-product of self-initiated activity is the gradual emergence of leadership on the part of young people. In our work with school and center groups, we found that creative work stimulated assertiveness, so that many shy and insecure boys and girls came forward in the rôle of leaders. Successful performance of tasks, achievement, and recognition from the group helped develop self-esteem and a sense of confidence. The behavior of participants in group situations was completely altered. Similar improvements in many members were also observed by the specialists in charge of the various shops conducted on a free, creative, and problem-solving basis. Older members have undertaken quite voluntarily definite responsibilities in the conduct of the shop. Many have asked to be permitted to act as assistants to the teachers.

In an educative center, leaders of club and special activity groups are recruited from the older members. Because of their experience in progressive education and their knowledge of the neighborhood and its population, they are more qualified for this work than are outsiders. This has been the practice in neighborhood centers for some years. The present writer recalls a recent case of the rise of leadership impulse on the part of a rather shy boy of fifteen. In his own club he was not among the most assertive members, but he was somehow elected chairman of one of the committees of the league council. By means of stimulation through private conferences, suggestions, and help from the adult advisor of the league, he was gradually "built up," and became a very strong influence in determining policy. Having himself gained so much from this method, he was fired with a zeal to spread its influence. Assuming the leadership of a group of small boys on the block where he lived, he employed free-activity and membership-determination principles in his group. He introduced an "activity program," and to the best of his ability employed the newer educational methods, frequently conferring with the league advisor at the center on the next step in his club's development. The most significant aspect of this experience is that he and a few friends who became interested in his volunteer work have been making an effort to understand boys and have become sensitized to the needs of others. Through their discussions with the advisor, they have been evolving not only an educational point of view but also an attitude toward life. From these beginnings, this work has grown into a real force in that particular neighborhood.

To Develop a Sense of Reality

Among the chief aims of a good education is the development of a sense of reality, a sense of values and proportion, and a recognition of one's capacities and limitations. A sense of reality comes with a mature personality, and is based almost entirely on healthy and balanced emotions. It emerges at least partially, however, from self-discovery and from first-hand experience with things and life-situations, which a good education provides. Because verbal teaching deals only with abstract concepts and ideas, it not only prevents acquisition of first-hand knowledge and of power, but it also checks the development of this sense of reality. Modern psychology has emphasized the unity between environment and self: the external is not something entirely apart from the subjective. The self projects itself upon the external environment and reinterprets it in its own terms. Thus reality is a varying concept. Things are what they seem to us. We attribute much of our problems and attitudes to other people and situations, regardless of facts.

A sense of reality, viewed educationally, therefore, emerges from many apparently separate, but actually related experiences, attitudes, and knowledges. It cannot be learned through drill or inculcation. It is at once an end and a by-product of many seemingly unrelated functions. Character education, therefore, cannot set out to train for a sense of reality as a direct task. This sense is rather an indirect outcome of an adequate, active interaction with the world at every stage of development and growth.

We have already seen that "to the growing individual the world is an expanding entity. In the beginning, his contact with it is limited to the immediate situations arising from his personal needs and cravings, but as he grows older his conception of the world gradually widens. Also, through his widening experience and contacts with it, because of inner organic growth and psychological development, he is able to encompass an ever larger area of his world. Thus the realities of life are revealed to the emerging person slowly and in enlarging complexity. Reality, mental hygiene tells us, cannot be thrust upon an uncomprehending mind and fragile emotions. It must be graded to capacities and interests in order that it may form a basis for further development as powers develop and strengthen.

"An educational program to be valid must accord with this *multi-dimensional growth of personality,* and with the *principle of graded reality.* However, the realities to which young people are exposed must be complex enough to challenge effort, thought, and activity; for it is through such challenge that development occurs."[2]

To Develop Intellectual Hospitality

A valid principle for living includes intellectual hospitality and receptivity to new and changing values. Material interests are undoubtedly the incentive for the conservative motive, but the conduct of numerous people points to the presence of emotional determinants as well. The resistance to any kind of change is found even among those who would benefit in a variety of ways by such a change. We have already stated that fear, habit, and love of the familiar (*Gestalt*) tie one to the present and to the past. These ideas must be extended to include other causes. Beliefs and practices are often identified with individuals such as parents, teachers, or political and religious leaders. Such blind followership checks intellectual receptivity and brings out the fact that "openmindedness" is a function of an evolved and free personality that does not require external and artificial props. Character education, therefore, seeks to develop courage to change conviction in the light of new knowledge. One of the important attributes of character is the capacity to change. Stubborn resistance to progressive trends is characteristic of underdevelopment and a sign of weakness. The mature have power and deep-rooted security that do not have to be propped up by rigidity.

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[2] *Creative Group Education,* pp. 53-54.

Receptivity to change and the habit of changing habit is often termed idealism. It is almost inevitable that idealism, though a necessary part of a valid life-philosophy, should be opposed by the dominant group in society, whose major, if not sole interest, is to continue the *status quo,* which is advantageous to them. Thus character education, like the essence of religion, comes into conflict with the patterns of an exploitive and profit-motivated society.

The Emergence of a Philosophy of Life

Whatever the specific aims of education, the end-product of the total experience of the individual, should be a guiding and sustaining life principle. Dynamic education emphasizes this. Each must have what may be called *a guiding philosophy* that embodies an integrated approach to life, a sense of purpose and direction, a consciousness of one's true worth, and a progressive world outlook. Dynamic education is only a means to aid this larger aim—the emergence of such a philosophy; it is the material out of which an intelligent and conscious design for living is constructed. Obviously, such a sustaining philosophy cannot be taught directly. It is rather a response to active living—to wide and variegated first-hand experience. It results from thinking and coming to grips with one's own problems, with the thoughts of others, and with social conditions.

The lives of the most humble and unschooled are guided by some definite attitudes (largely derived from infantile wishes or uncomprehended group values), which become their particular life philosophy, and by which their behavior is determined. Such simple criteria may have served well enough in a simpler world. As the world grows more complex, as the currents of thought and ideas expand and become more conflicting, we must be better equipped to understand and cope with them. The conditions under which many earn their living may be now more monotonous, but the process of getting a job calls for more cunning and knowledge. Among the many disharmonies in modern life is that, on the one hand, the work of the majority of people is monotonous and repetitive, involving little intelligence; while, on the other, social and group adjustments are becoming increasingly difficult. The type of education that is at present envisaged is one that will reinforce the personality to meet these conflicting situations. Children must be fortified through knowledge, insight, and emotional equipment to make the variety of adjustments necessary. Avocational enthusiasms balance the monotony of work. Sustaining and appealing interests give zest to an otherwise bleak life.

To meet these conflicting and often baffling conditions, education must aim to expand, deepen, and humanize the personality; it must give the tools and means for controlling and managing life situations. Above all, its aim should be to bring to the fore the principles of a healthful and balanced living and to lead one to understand the events of the modern world. This we consider to be the true objective of all education.

The conditions and circumstances under which a guiding life philosophy can emerge were indicated throughout the present volume. It will bear repeating that the emergence of a guiding philosophy of life cannot occur without direct and (especially) indirect adult influence; nor can an effective philosophy of life be inculcated by teaching and indoctrination. It cannot be forced. An over-view of one's own aims and purposes and recognition of one's relation to the outer world must be a product of experience and thought—and adults are among the chief experiences of children and young people. If they are to discharge their function adequately, they must themselves be guided by honest, clear, courageous principles for living. No one can influence others without first basing his own life on conviction. Young people soon discern escape into the well-known and widely used avenue of facile verbalization, and turn to more convincing and more secure quarters. To be effective, school and center staffs must consist of persons who are emotionally honest, mature, and who possess integrity. They should be guided in their own lives by a definite point of view, a clear purpose, and a defined objective. The physical setting and organizational plans, which receive so much attention from educational administrators, are not enough to meet the needs of development. The personalities of the adults involved are inevitably reflected in the total environment. Their feelings and attitudes render education significant. Systems and physical conditions *alone do not make for a good education.* They are only a part of education, and a small part at that.

A unified guiding philosophy of life is an individual discovery; it emerges from first-hand experience and purposeful thinking and action. Teachers and leaders, on the other hand, "treat all vital issues as though they have already been solved and all that young people have to do is to set to work doing something, doing it without understanding." This attitude is a natural outcome of what has been called in diplomacy "the rule of the old man." But, as Rall I. Grisby, Director of Adult Education in Des Moines, Iowa, puts it: "All vital social questions are controversial in nature. They are questions upon which men honestly differ. . . . In dealing with controversial issues all reasonable latitude and freedom of speech is granted. . . . The Board of Education regards it as contrary to sound public policy to use the forums for imposition of ideas. It is basic to a sound program of public adult education to secure beliefs only through genuine freedom of investigation and discussion, not through the emotional appeal of the demagogue. . . ."

Good education offers opportunities for free expression of opinion. An educational agency that fails in this respect fails in the very purpose of its existence. Discussion, study, and opinion must be free, although such freedom may present very definite risks. But those responsible for the education of youth in an evolving world must be prepared to take these risks. In a sense, youth challenges us; and we must either accept the challenge by meeting youth and *guiding* it, or we must try to escape our responsibilities by censorship and repression. Can we take youth's impatient explosiveness and convert it into constructive, serene purposes? Or are we going to circumvent and abrogate intellectual curiosity and exploratory thinking?

If education chooses the policy of curtailing free inquiry, it will not only fail in its true purpose, but it will alienate the most promising among the youth it seeks to serve. Young people will turn to agencies more hospitable to their needs and more sympathetic to their problems. In educational work we must be prepared while leading also to follow the lead of those whom we are educating. In so doing, we ourselves develop and grow.

The source of a democratic spirit in educational institutions, in our present society, begins with those in actual authority: lay boards. Democracy cannot be maintained sectionally. In order that a free and democratic spirit may be secured, the board's relation to the staff, pupils, and members should be one of mutuality and co-operation, rather than one of authority and power. This is essential because it is not possible to create democratic relations in any one area of a school or center without permeating with it the entire institution. The interrelation and constant co-operativeness essential to creative work makes it imperative that a uniform principle govern throughout. The attitude of an autocratic and brutal government, for example, not only subjugates the masses officially; citizens become autocratic and brutal both in practice and in principle even in their personal relations. Attitudes are subject to diffusion. Freedom cannot be activated unless a feeling of mutuality and unity of purpose exists among the pupils, the staff, and the boards of directors.

Adults should refrain from indoctrination and from imposing their own views upon youth. Indoctrination tends to check inquiry and mental activity. It is therefore detrimental to the development of intellect, open-mindedness, and a progressive attitude toward an evolving world. Educators should rather employ their views to stimulate inquiry, thought, and study. They should, by example, set a standard for objectivity and an experimental attitude toward life. Adults who impose ideas exploit the minds that they should develop; they impoverish the personalities they should enrich, and extend dependence instead of building maturity.

CHAPTER XI

GRADATIONS IN ADULT EDUCATION

The Discrepancy Between Age and Maturity

The method of activity applies to adult education in the same way as to the elementary school or to group education. Adults should concern themselves with the problems and actual events of the world. These should be the main materials and the curriculum of a worth-while educational program. Just as in the nursery and the kindergarten materials are supplied for mental and motor activity of the young child, so ought the education of the grown-ups direct them to matters that concern them on their level of experience.

The boundaries between maturity and immaturity are ill defined. Chronological age is no criterion for maturity. In a world of limitless opportunities for education and experiencing, age is only a secondary factor in development. Intellectual comprehension, for example, depends, first, upon native intellectual capacity and, second, upon the use to which this capacity has been put. To the extent that it is possible to separate emotions from intellect it can be said also of emotional maturity that it does not always coincide with age. The nature and extent of our experience, and what we learn from it, determine growth.

Although it is commonly accepted that certain behavior and responsibilities are appropriate to specific age levels (such as school attendance, self-support, voting, marriage, parenthood), in actual life, the readiness to carry out these responsibilities differs greatly with individuals. In adult, as in child education, we have to take into consideration the individual. Capacity and the dispositions for learning must be the foundations here as well.

Adult education undoubtedly is rooted in the social scene, and it "should contribute definitely toward the devising of means for the solution of current social problems; toward meeting new and emergent problems; and toward defining and determining ever new and ever more desirable goals."[1] Too many adults, however, are not able to comprehend these problems, not to mention devising solutions for them. On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of those who have the required capacity do not possess the social will to initiate social action or even to participate in it.

The crying need of the modern world now more than ever before is neighborhood-mindedness rather than self-centeredness, world-mindedness instead of narrow patriotism. But we must recognize the fact that the mental (intellectual and emotional) set of the *average* person is selfish and provincial. This is because the cultural atmosphere and the most effective attitude-determining agencies—the school, the church, the press, and the more subtle tools of popular affirmation—oppose the more dynamic and evolved attitudes. It is the function of adult education to counteract these archaic mental sets.

Maximal Programs v. Attainable Ends

The maximal program or objective for adult education is social-minded and dynamic participation in social and world problems. This program cannot, however, be carried out without intermediate steps. It is necessary to create an adult education of graded difficulty in content and process. The problem of emotional set and intellectual backwardness of so many requires a pluralistic approach. No one single method can be adequate. As already indicated, because a sense of values is imperceptibly evolved and cannot be handed down or superimposed, the educator needs to employ techniques that will redirect old-fashioned ideas and counteract indifference.

In adult education we are dealing largely with already more or less mutilated intellects and dampened curiosities that cannot be restimulated by ordinary teaching and lecturing. What seems necessary for out-of-school education is (1) to fan the embers of dying interests; (2) to arouse those that previously had no opportunity for expression; and (3) to intensify those that are still active. This, it seems, can best be accomplished (1) through stimulation by enthusiastic and inspired leadership; (2) through arousing interest in problems concerning the larger environment of the world; (3) by exposing the members to cultural pursuits and by encouraging them to participate in those most suited to their individual dispositions; (4) by supplying every possible opportunity for creative expression—manual, aesthetic, intellectual, and social; (5) by helping members to acquire the necessary information for thinking through real problems that come up in their own lives and in their community; and, most important, (6) to help them learn that knowledge can be discovered, and to lead them to discover the idea of discovery.

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[1] Kotinsky, Ruth, *Adult Education and the Social Scene.* New York: Appleton-Century, 1933, p. 68.

The ordinary adult education program is still either time-filling or concerned with training for vocations. The approach is one of "recreation" or teaching (in the limited sense of these terms) as differentiated from true education and development. It either seeks to amuse or to impart facts and art-skills rather than to help the student discover sustaining interests in and ways for dynamic social participation. Education should rather serve to help one become a self-sustaining and self-directive entity in accordance with his predilections and in consonance with a changing and evolving world.

Categories of Adult Education

Adult education can be classified under five categories, each designed for a different educational and developmental level. These are: (1) belated elementary schooling; (2) college substitutive courses; (3) special interest activity; (4) cultural opportunities; and (5) education for social action.

1. belated elementary schooling

A startling number of adults among the working classes in every country have not had as children the opportunity to acquire the foundations of learning. Some are actually illiterate; others who can read and write have not mastered the basic tools of thought, such as an elementary knowledge of the sciences, economics, sociology, health and hygiene. Thus, there is a quite definite place for more or less academic work with this group of adults. The illiterate must be taught to read and write. Others need to be guided toward worth-while reading. Those who have become curious about the world around them should be given opportunities for learning about it. Lectures, classes, study groups, laboratories, demonstrations, and individual conferences are appropriate in the education of the last-named group. The subjects taught should be entirely determined by the interests and recognized needs of those who seek this type of education: the most recent developments in the physical sciences with their social implications; the biological sciences relating to man, such as physiology, hygiene, and psychology; the social sciences; economics; current events; contemporary politics; group behavior; and the general world events.

The methods of teaching appropriate for this department of adult education vary with the nature of the subject. Physical and biological sciences can be taught by the lecture-demonstration, question-and-answer methods and by the library method.[2] Subjects dealing with the social-economic scene can employ at varying stages the lecture-discussion method, the library and discussion method, or the forum. The chief differences between the practice in ordinary schools and the work with adults are: (1) that greater participation by pupils is possible and should be made an essential condition for this work; (2) much greater flexibility in content and subject matter is essential, since in the absence of a definite curriculum the sequence and organization of subject matter can follow the principle of integration of knowledge and interests of the learners; (3) a "tie-up" can be made at all stages to the social scene and the needs of contemporary life. The latter point is perhaps the chief difference between academic and informal adult education. In adult education, the emphasis is not upon subject-matter learning. The preoccupation here is with the dynamic application of knowledge to social thinking and social action. Facts are not acquired for mere possession nor for intellectual embellishment. Their value in adult education lies in their quality as stimulants for thought and action and for a more intelligent discharge of one's duties as a parent, friend, neighbor, and citizen.

The relation between knowledge and action is quite evident, although it is necessary to recognize that knowledge alone does not set up action. The transformation of passive learning into active function is accomplished by socially-minded leadership. The teacher in adult education should be a group leader and himself a participator in the social scene. He should view the various knowledges as they relate to each other; he must inspire and be inspired by idealism and a progressive outlook.

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[2] *Science in the New Education,* Chapters XII and XIII.

2. COLLEGE SUBSTITUTIVE COURSES

College substitutive courses are those courses given to serious-minded adults who, despite an intense interest in specific subjects, did not, for various reasons, pursue an advanced schooling. Although some of these interests may be technical and academic rather than social, they have a definite place in a complete and sound adult educational program. The satisfaction of intellectual and activity needs is the rightful province of adult education. Existing interests should at all times be used, even though they may have no social motivations. Enriching personality, making one a more satisfactory companion and economically more efficient, are also to be considered. These are made more valuable if they lead to social awareness and participation. To accomplish all this the teacher should, in addition to knowing his special subject, also be able to show the relation of the subject matter to the economic, social and cultural conditions of the day.

Advanced courses are particularly valuable when they are directly tied up with the professions and trades in which the students are engaged. There is definite value in increased efficiency and productivity. This is particularly the fact in a society whose wealth and well-being depend upon production. Adult education therefore should offer not only academic and cultural courses, but also trade, industrial, and professional subjects. A complete education does not exclude the immediate and practical. It rather seeks to improve one as a producer and consumer.

Here too there is need for intelligent and knowing teachers. The students, in addition to mastering skills, can be made aware of the place of their trade or profession in the total social setting. What is the supply and demand in their special field? What are the causes for a limited demand? What social and personal dislocations are caused by an oversupply of labor?

What remedies can be offered under existing conditions? What are the suggested solutions to these problems?

There is a wealth of possibilities for widening horizons and for studying the historical, social, and economic problems in which every intelligent person should be interested. This widening of horizons and introduction of *meaning* to occupations is definitely the domain of adult education, for through it intelligence is sharpened and extended.

More academic college substitutive courses, too, help one become better oriented. Indeed, enlightened college teachers employ the field-study methods in teaching, particularly in the social sciences. The co-ordination of class-room and industry (the co-operative plan) has long been employed by some colleges. In recent years this plan has been gaining in vogue for social work, education, and in other social studies, and is an accepted technique in political and social science departments of universities. This technique would fit into any scheme of adult and informal education. Being free from curricular encumbrances, workers can plumb deeper and arrive at more fundamental truths than the average college student ordinarily does.

3. SPECIAL INTEREST ACTIVITY

Special interest activity has been discussed to a considerable extent in the preceding section, and in various parts of the volume dealing with education generally. College substitutive education is of necessity organized in accordance with pupils' preferences. It recognizes interest in specific subjects or areas of knowledge. Special-interest education is differentiated from the former by its latitude. It includes interests that, though forming a very important area for individual satisfactions and self-expression, are not ordinarily considered as a part of schooling. Manual activities, such as art, mechanics, and construction; sports, games, clubs, and other group activities can be included in this category. These kinds of interests are of great value to many, and a complete adult education must provide for them. Thus, those adults who desire to learn, or to extend their knowledge in music, plastic or pictorial arts, the dance, literature, or the drama, find their opportunities in a properly organized adult education center. Some who like to discuss problems or subjects of common appeal find it possible under a complete adult education project. Similarly, men, women, and young people who desire to spend their time in creative writing or reading have provided for them space, materials, and guidance; those who like gymnasium work or physical play have their needs met, too. Carpentry, metal, art and science rooms are placed at the disposal of adult participants with adequate materials and competent supervision, where leisure time can be spent in creative relaxation. "Tinker shops," where one can repair furniture or clocks, make radios, or just "invent," ought to be a part of an adult education plan.

Occupations and interests should be organized in response to expressed needs of the members of a particular center, neighborhood, or city. In fact, they are of greatest value if originated, installed, and maintained by the pupils themselves. In a good education, whether in center or school, the planning and executing of plans should be done as far as possible by the members themselves. We emphasized the fact a number of times that a sense of responsibility is acquired through meeting responsibilities, and that the skills of co-operation are learned by co-operating. This is as true of adults as it is of children. It is clear that in even so individualistic an enterprise as hobbies, co-operative possibilities are present. Not only are development and satisfaction derived from pleasurable creative occupations and desired learning, but group feeling, too, can be developed through them. In one center, for example, the adult members raised many thousands of dollars for a gymnasium building. Some contributed their labor to the project; others collected nickels and dimes (the center is located in one of the most poverty-stricken neighborhoods in a metropolis), arranged raffles, staged prize-fights, and gave dances to accumulate the necessary funds. This was continued for years before enough money was raised for the building. The members are equally busy now in creating funds for maintaining it. In another center artisans from among its members joined forces to equip a shop in which furniture, metal objects, and knick-knacks were made by the unemployed of the group. These were sold and all the proceeds above the cost of maintaining the establishment were distributed among the members.

An increasing number of educators are encouraging the members to take part in maintaining and conducting neighborhood centers. The various age councils, the athletic council, and finally the house council can be made effective instruments in social education. If these democratic councils really possess juridical as well as policy-making powers—and are not controlled and harassed by executives or boards of trustees—they offer training in responsibility and group action. In those few centers where this power is exercised by the councils, a high degree of social responsibility and group leadership evolves. An interesting fact to be noted is that the leadership and the field of action extend from the center to related neighborhood and municipal problems and even to the affairs of the larger world.

The value of special-interest education depends upon the method employed. It must be remembered by the teachers and directors of such groups that most adults engage in occupations for the creative expression they offer. Although there are in every special-interest group a large number of persons who seek professional training, there are also those who prefer to experiment, devise, and explore. The teachers and directors of such groups would do well to help their adult pupils with these interests. There is little gain to the average person from being taught what he would enjoy more by finding out for himself, and there is less value to him in perfected knowledge than in the gradual acquisition of that knowledge in slow, but thoroughly comprehended stages. It is sometimes necessary to separate those who desire professional training in any given occupation or subject from the group who prefer mental and manual "tinkering."

4. CULTURAL OPPORTUNITIES

Lectures and classes in literature, the arts and the sciences, dramatic performances of a better kind, concerts and dance recitals, rightly belong in the complete program that the newer adult education envisages. The development of good taste and the general refinement of attitudes is the concern of education. Admittedly, cultural attitudes are not evolved by this type of spectatorism; refinement of feeling and taste is a process of living and of influences of long duration. Nevertheless, there is a definite place for the cultural element in an adult education. When opportunities for seeing good drama and fine dancing, and hearing good music are presented, particularly to younger people, a surprising number of them respond with enthusiasm.

In a world of commercial amusements, in which the primitive and unevolved emotions are exploited and nurtured, there is a very definite need for a counteracting influence. If the aim of education is to develop the capacity to select from environment the better things and to occupy idle or leisure time more constructively and profitably, the exposure of children, youth, and adults to better literature and art is essential.

In the center and school itself, some of these activities offer direct and indirect participation. Dramatics, group singing, musical concerts, and art exhibits provide for some opportunities as performers and exhibitors. Others can participate in various indirect functions such as arrangements, publicity, and other administrative and financial duties. Under good leadership, these affairs can become enterprises to serve the neighborhoods in which the school or center is situated. By drawing in residents of a locality they can become a definite contribution to its social life. This type of leisure-time occupation need not be limited to what the group itself can arrange and produce. It is possible to utilize also performances given by professionals. Thus symphony concerts, the opera, and the theater are a part of adult education. Classes, lectures, discussion groups, and forums should also be an integral part of it. Adults, however, should not limit these advantages to themselves. In centers where the work is guided by educationally and socially minded directors and staff, the youth and adults are encouraged to create similar cultural opportunities for the children of their neighborhoods. In all of its work, adult education is really social education. Creating advantages for the children of a neighborhood is an integral part of social action.

5. SOCIAL ACTION

Social action is the end-purpose of adult education. In a democratic world, in which economic and social development is constantly creating new and problematic situations, as many of the citizens as possible must aid their solution. Adults should learn to understand the conditions that they face personally and as members of a group, nation, and the world. They need also be trained for aggressive effort to attain desirable results. Probably for generations to come the flux of change and instability will be the lot of human society. In this flux, clarity and objectivity will be required. One must be sure as to the leader he is to follow; one must understand the proposed method for attaining social ends, and be prepared for constant vigilance to protect human rights against predatory and self-centered interests.

It is folly to concentrate, in adult education, upon teaching literature and foreign languages while the very foundations of society are threatened and civilization is facing a new Dark Age. Modern society and thought must demonstrate whether man is master of his fate. Intelligence has been too little used for controlling human destiny. We have studied nature and her processes; we know them and, to a large measure, can control them. In human affairs this excellence of knowledge and performance does not exist. Truth is hampered by those whose power and security are challenged by truth. Effort toward fundamental change in social organization is met by organized resistance. Even a planned society within the framework of the existing order is scoffed at, ridiculed, and derided as an attack upon the rights of the individual. It matters not to the apologists of an outworn order that the interdependence of individuals and peoples is a fact and that modern necessity requires new planning and new solutions. Mental lag, self-centeredness, and vested interests are pitted against the new.

Obviously, the struggle for social readjustments necessitated by new conditions can be won only by the pressure of numbers. Adult education's most important task, therefore, is to attune those whom it reaches to the demands of a new emergent society, to develop awareness of the problems that confront the world, and to inculcate conviction and idealism. Above all, adult education must prepare people to act. Group discussions, forums, and lectures must be viewed only as preparations for action; for, as already indicated, without consequent action they are abortive. Thought is complete only when it finds expression in action; social education must therefore either originate or end in action. It is assumed, of course, that this action is socially worth while, progressive, seeking to realize in an enlightened manner the greatest good for the greatest number.

In the preceding pages we have tried to indicate how in every realm of education—belated elementary, college substitutive, special-interest, and cultural—there are elements of social education. Whether education will count in the community and in the world depends largely upon those who direct it. In all adult education, under the guidance of socially-oriented individuals, group implications will inevitably come to the fore, no matter what the subject or activity. Technically minded and individual-centered leadership, on the other hand, will just as inevitably prevent social action. The one development or the other will be determined largely by unconscious motives rather than by overt acts, though there are those in education, of course, who represent special interests and consciously check group expression and enlightenment.

A program of social education as outlined in preceding pages is in conformity with the best knowledge of modern education: relating ideas and attitudes to a whole-hearted interest, genuine needs, creative expression, group participation. Another advantage of this method is that it permits capacities for understanding social problems to develop and makes one ready for social action. Artificial social interest for which one is not ready can be stimulated by emotionalism and ballyhoo. Education opposes such emotionalism. It is, therefore, necessary that social education and group action keep pace with the development of the individual and his readiness. Thus, one would envisage various levels of group interest. Perhaps an outline of such gradation as it actually existed in one neighborhood center will illustrate this point.

In this center social participation was stressed. Group leaders and staff members attended sessions at which the need and techniques of social education were emphasized. Current events, neighborhood needs, institutional matters, and world problems were made known by every means available—bulletins, house paper, symposiums, lectures, discussions, special committees, and in personal conversations. In an institution such as this, self-government and active participation in the conduct of the center were essential. Accordingly, many administrative matters and financial problems as well were discussed and often acted upon by the members. Thus, members had a variety of opportunities for taking part in group affairs of various kinds.

It was found that some of the members attached themselves to such interests as the Group Theatre. Others gave their entire time to promoting house activities such as the House and Athletic councils. There were those who threw themselves headlong into local politics to prevent the election of "unworthy" candidates. A large number devoted themselves to meeting neighborhood needs, such as slum clearing, providing playgrounds for children, and elimination of fire traps. Others fanatically pressed a movement against war and fascism. Still another group concentrated upon international affairs and their economic implications.

While a large number of the members shared their interests with more than one of the groups, the majority "struck their level." Those with greater idealism and intellectual grasp—and often more impetuosity—centered upon wider and more inclusive social areas. The practical and the less imaginative chose more local problems as their interests. There was also noticeable a change in personnel in the various committees and in the attendance of the different groups. Interests were shifting. This may indicate that some of the members developed in different and possibly widening directions. Educationally, this is very important; for not only is social education individualized by this variety, but it also provides for graded complexity.

In adult education the principle of graded complexity is as important as in schools. Because group and social problems are complex in nature, it is necessary that a gradation be provided whereby the widening of interest may be a natural growth. A mother's first interest may be in improving the health of her child, for which she comes to the local clinic. With proper help she is made conscious also of the importance of psychological guidance not only of the particular child who presents a health problem, but also of her other children. The school as a factor inevitably comes to her attention and she may join the local parent-teacher association. As the summer problem of her children comes along, she learns of the efforts of the parents' clubs of the center to establish or to maintain a camp for the children of the neighborhood. Gradually, if her native capacity and mental development are sufficiently high, she can be led to understand her problem with her children in relation to house improvement, playgrounds, school lunches, and possibly to the larger social and economic setting of the world in which she lives. Eventually she may exert herself toward eliminating the immediate and even the more remote causes of her own and others' distress.

Social action is learned by participating in social action. The "laboratory method" of education is more suitable here than the "library method" with adults as well as with children. In fact, it is the only good method in adult education. Opportunities for social education abound everywhere. Less fortunate neighborhoods need relief. Then again, are there no slums to be cleared, fire-traps to be condemned, playgrounds to be provided? Pure-food laws and sanitary conditions of a neighborhood are the concern of everyone. Should local and national elections not concern every worth-while citizen? In the schools, much can be done in the direction of improving the education of children. And how about the national policies on war, on reaction, and on international affairs? There are numerous voluntary organizations and official bodies working in these directions and in many others, which the alert and socially minded can join.

The fundamental difference between the old type of settlement house and modern adult education is that in the former the residents or workers fought and agitated for improvements and safeguards in their neighborhoods. In adult education, the objective is to guide and stimulate the population to create its own regeneration and to achieve desired ends through its own effort. The aim here is to create an *articulate* community as differentiated from a *dependent* community. Thus, the material and curriculum of education for social action are the actual events and needs of the world. The impulse for these achievements must come from the leadership.

Although the laboratory of adult education is the neighborhood and the national and world scenes as they exist, it is necessary that we become accustomed and receptive to doing things in new ways. Increased complexity of social life and conditions, created by technological and psychological development, requires an untraditional approach and unorthodox methodology. One of the important elements of character is receptivity to new and evolving values and techniques of living, based upon discernment and insight. We have seen that tenacious but unintelligent retention of the customary and the traditional is a form of insecurity and, therefore, of weak character. Intellectual hospitality, world-mindedness, sincerity, and conviction are elements that go into the making of character; and these can be acquired, aside from the deeper psychological determinants, in active participation in group, social, and world affairs. Thus the social aspects of character are evolved and expressed through activity.

CHAPTER XII

MAJORITY AND MINORITY GROUP ATTITUDES

CULTURES V. NATIONS

In this last chapter we propose to consider briefly one of the major problems of modern times. The problem of minority groups, with which we wish to deal, is by no means new. Since the early days of primitive society there have always been more or less large groups who were subjugated and outraged, humiliated and exploited, tortured and killed. Many have thought, however, that modern civilization with its enlightened and liberalizing influence had eliminated the psychological set that made this possible. Economists believed that in most countries the material basis for social antagonisms had been gradually vanishing, while religionists everywhere emphasized the unity of the human race before God.

Events of the last several years have proven how superficial are the effects of education and especially how easily large and unthinking masses can be aroused to a "consciousness of kind." Events have confirmed the belief that hate is a greater unifier than is love. The love impulse is easy to satisfy. One need merely be kind to the one he loves. Hate and cruelty, however, are not so easily fulfilled. In modern times hatred (and the resultant need to destroy the object of one's hatred) is tabooed. People therefore readily rally around a legally- or group-sanctioned center of hatred, such as lynchings, riots, persecutions, or (in time of war) an enemy.

Group hysteria and mass-mindedness employed by demagogues are very potent if we are to judge by the developments in recent years. These developments also indicate that, in addition to the values discussed in preceding pages, education has a specific function to perform in two distinct areas. One of these is the education of minority groups so that they may be fortified against the deprivations and stigma that result from membership in such groups. The second is the education, or better still, reeducation, of the majority, or dominant citizens of a country, toward an understanding of the artificiality and baselessness of ethnic characteristics, and racial "superiorities" and "inferiorities." Of even greater importance, and more difficult, is to change the emotional attitudes in these respects.

Before we proceed with outlines of methods it may be helpful to stop for a momentary survey of the total problem.

In order that we may understand the hostility that arises from nationalistic, "racial," and religious differences, we must contrast nations and cultures. A nation is a large number of persons with common economic and world-political interests, and a single government. They need not be ethnically, religiously, nor otherwise homogeneous. A culture, on the other hand, is an accumulation of common attitudes and values, methods and means of solving the problems that arise from the way of living and feeling peculiar to a particular group of people. Maurine Boie describes a culture as "the accumulation of the group's experience, its ways of solving the problems of life's demands, and needs, the attitudes, folkways, *mores,* ways of behaving and feeling that have been invented, tested, approved, and perpetuated in a particular people's history." A culture has an historic continuity. In fact, it is an extension of the historic events of a people on the psychological as well as the material levels. We have seen that the psychological and attitudinal aspects of a culture persist long after there is an actual need for them. Very frequently practices and attitudes continue long after they are suited to the times or have practical value. This has been described as the "cultural lag."

Modern civilized nations may have political and national unity, but culturally they are for the most part pluralistic. The United States, for example, is a national unity. Culturally, however, it is composed of many groups that continue their own *mores,* values, and habits in more or less modified forms. The existence of cultural pluralism is general in modern nations and in itself does not constitute a problem. The difficulties within a nation and among nations rather arise from imperialistic ambitions and power drives of psychopathic individuals (see p. 120) stimulated and nurtured by economic interests.

These are the real causes of national disharmony rather than the fact of pluralism itself.

In every modern nation one usually finds one majority culture and a number of minority groups and cultures. The presence of a group of people, especially a sizable one, who may or may not be physically different, but whose traditional methods and techniques of living are different, and who are guided by different values and strivings, creates a strain in what might otherwise be a placid and undisturbed group life. Such complete homogeneity, however, is not possible; and, even if it were possible, is undesirable. The history of cultures and civilizations clearly shows that homogeneity is dangerous. A nation cannot draw upon itself endlessly for revitalization. Contact with other cultures is essential for growth and group survival. Nations must have cultural replenishment. The value to the major culture of minorities who continue a life of their own (modified and readjusted, perhaps) lies in the fact that they inject new forces into the nation or country in which they reside. They tend to lessen the rigidity of the dominant group in its ways and outlook and thus make them more effective in coping with reality. Minorities reduce "stereotypes" and the cultural lag. Because they make for greater flexibility, their presence in the long run strengthens the capacity to survive on the part of the major group. History shows that the most vital countries are those that have been thus influenced by outside groups. The cultural multiplicity and plurality that result from cultural interchange have stimulated adjustments and activity beneficial to the original group. Those nations that were once great, but that have repressed contributions from other groups and nations, either have been reduced to insignificance or have entirely vanished.

The chief reason for the vitality of American culture, which has influenced the entire civilized world, is often attributed to the scope it offers to individual initiative and enterprise. This is, however, only partly true. A more fundamental reason is America's policy of welcoming other group cultures and their contributions. The origin and history of the country were such that from its earliest times everything in it was at first alien and had to be absorbed into its life's pattern. Such cultural hospitality was the life blood, as it were, of the nation's growth and strength. The contributions of the numerous illustrious aliens in America, without which its power and influence could not be, are a result of *an attitude of acceptance not just toward individuals, but toward the groups to which they belong.* Few great minds can flourish in a persecuted and humiliated group. Humiliation affects everyone in it and only a very rare few can rise above it. To the extent to which a country welcomes and draws upon the various cultures within its borders, to that extent does it grow in stature and influence. Curtailment, discrimination and persecution create problems both for the persecutors and the persecuted, and eventually act as a boomerang against the former. This is an unavoidable conclusion from history. Just as there cannot be economic autarchy in modern times, so cultural autarchy is equally impossible.

Why We Discriminate Against Others

In addition to the larger sociological problems that cultural plurality creates, educators are concerned more with its immediate psychological effects. Although the ultimate objective of civilization is to reduce and finally eliminate the "consciousness of kind" and to engender a feeling of internationality, the formal and informal educator, as well as the psychologist, must concern himself with the immediate problems. He must recognize such unavoidable facts as that the feeling of difference causes fear and intolerance; that it brings about a sense of inferiority and stigma, with definite compensatory behavior and values. A feeling of difference sets up in the average member of the majority group a feeling of strangeness, uncertainty, and insecurity. Those of the minority group feel excluded, discriminated against, and stigmatized. All of this creates tension and disunity.

As we observe the behavior and lives of individuals in these groups, however, we are struck by a very important fact. This feeling of disunity is much more intense among the less developed and less educated individuals than among those who have had cultural and educational opportunities. This fact can be stated in the following terms. Individuals who are culturally provincial tend to exclude other culture groups. In those whose background has made them culturally cosmopolitan and intellectually broadened, this feeling is greatly lessened. The feeling with regard to ethnical, religious, and cultural difference must be, psychologically speaking, considered one of the major indices to character and personality. It is for this reason that education must turn its attention to culture-attitudes, aside from their implications to sociology and the world structure generally. This aspect of the problem warrants further exploration, which can be done only briefly here.

The characteristic attitude of the undeveloped member of a majority group is one of sadism. As we analyze the deeper causes of this attitude we find them as falling into several groupings: fear, economic threat, sexual jealousy, feeling of dependence, and other unconscious attitudes. There is a basic pattern in human behavior that leads one to conclude that we hate only those whom we fear, who threaten our economic security or feeling of self-worth in some direct or remote manner. A member of a minority group is tolerated if he "knows and keeps his place." It is when these "strangers" go beyond boundaries and enter into successful competition for wealth, intellectual prominence, or spiritual excellence that the feeling of hostility in the majority group is aroused and intensified. A minority group that keeps a subordinate position and remains humble and subservient can be tolerated much more readily than can members of a group who strive for and achieve a place in the sun. The fear reaction can be set up also in a dominant group by virtue of numbers as well. A small cultural or "racial" group in power over large numbers of conquered or subjugated peoples (who constitute a potential threat to safety and security) not only set up a repressive regime but also develop attitudes of contempt for the others and self-glorification for themselves. This is because those in power really feel inferior, numerically and otherwise.

Another law of human attitudes that needs to be considered here is that we tend to become hostile to those upon whom we depend. In almost all instances the conquerors who reside among the conquered, and the masters among the enslaved, feel their dependence upon the less privileged. As a protection against this feeling of dependence, the dominant group develops a contemptuous attitude and a plan of life involving persecution for the others. A similar feeling of dependence and inferiority is present in a majority group toward that minority whose members become outstanding in intellectual and spiritual pursuits or who are inordinately successful in economic achievement.

The important and basic law (which is as prevalent among lower animals as it is among men) is that we normally hate only those who threaten us in some way or another. There are, of course, other causes for hate, but they proceed from abnormal sources and are confined to a comparatively small number. Widespread antagonism, however, arises from a feeling of actual or potential, real or imaginary, danger. One of the most prevalent methods employed in education for prejudice is emphasis upon this threat and upon difference. These attitudes are among the most difficult to overcome in oneself and to counteract in others. When one is brought up with an attitude that a member of any group—nation, religion, "race," or section of one's country—is inferior or dishonest, cruel or snobbish, one cannot help becoming fixed in these ideas; one becomes unable to control them even if he wills to do so.

Another less recognized cause for discrimination and persecution of minority groups is suggested by Pflügel when he says: "I am indebted to my friend Major O. Berkeley-Hill for the suggestion that the attraction which women often feel for racially more primitive types, and the corresponding jealousy that the (often subconscious) perception of this attraction arouses in men of the women's own race, are among the most important factors which prevent the reconciliation or co-operation of different races and which are the cause of much of the brutality and violence which a superior race is apt to exercise towards an inferior one. (Cp. the frequent lynchings of Negroes for real or supposed sexual offences in America, or the anti-Negro or anti-Chinese riots that are of not infrequent occurrence in English seaport towns.) If this should be true (and there can be little doubt that it applies to certain cases) it would appear that we are dealing with a psychological fact possessing historical and psychological bearings of even wider significance than would at first appear—bearings which must be kept in mind in all attempts to produce rapprochement or better understanding between the different races of mankind. (For a study of the tendency in question in individual cases cp. the novels of Robert Hitchens, e.g., *Bella Donna* and *Barbary Sheep*.")[1]

In addition to the novels suggested by Pflügel there have been published a number of more recent stories dealing with this topic, of which *A Passage to India,* by E. M. Forster, is a notable example. A large number of both stage plays and movies have been built around this phenomenon. Certainly, events in the totalitarian countries of contemporary Europe show this jealousy unmistakably evidenced. We need only note that the initial attack upon Jews and other minorities was not made in the economic field, which was the ultimate aim. Rather popular support was first aroused around the idea of "racial purity."

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[1] *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Family*, pp. 114-5.

Discrimination Is a Sign of Defective Character

Numerous individuals have in recent years questioned their own attitudes toward minority groups. Developments in these eventful years have focused the world's attention upon this subject and as a result the more sensitive and intelligent examine themselves in this respect. Among the most common and the most difficult questions that puzzle these people is the one where an individual who is convinced scientifically of the non-existence of races in the modern world, and who intellectually understands that there are no true racial or national characteristics that are not induced by circumstances, nevertheless is still unable to overcome a feeling of aversion, distrust, contempt, and a general sense of difference from members of cultural and national groups other than his own. This situation must be viewed as a definite limitation of personality development and a real index to defective character.

To categorize all members of a group as being *exactly* the same is a form of prejudice that definitely indicates limited development. A blanket formula in any human affairs is employed by the unthinking, the undeveloped, and especially by persons who fear thought and life itself. Those who desire to overcome the unconscious prejudices of their past must realize that knowledge and thought alone are not enough. They must reconstruct their feelings through experience and direct contact with many and different kinds of individuals of other groups. This will lead them to discover that by and large there is no essential difference in peoples excepting those that are culturally and circumstantially determined.

A person of the "upper classes," for example, would easily discover that he feels much more a stranger among the "common people" of his own nation than among those of his own "class" of another nation. Royalty feel much more at home with one another even though custom and language separate them than they do among the half-starving workers of their own kingdoms. This is equally true of the less privileged. Maids of different nationalities in homes where the separation between them and the masters is very sharp, feel more at ease with one another than they do with their employers, who may speak the same language and come from the same original stock. An intellectual and refined person can become more easily assimilated among intellectuals of other nations than he would with the rough and uncouth in his own. It would seem that distances among persons in modern society are created less by national origins and religious convictions than by levels of individual development and diversity of interest.

However, as in all other areas of life, exposure to experience is not enough. There must be a spiritual digestion of these external experiences. To overcome prejudice one must, at first, consciously set himself in a receptive mood toward others. This conscious and wilful effort, however, need be employed only in the early stages of re-education. Soon it will become clear that attributes that were considered as "racial," national, or sectarian, are really individual; that persons of commensurate economic, social, and cultural advantages are substantially similar in all nations and "races." What is meant here is that there is immeasurably greater difference between individuals of the same nationalities because of their educational backgrounds and economic strata than between individuals of different "racial" and national groups of equal social backgrounds. Culture obliterates difference. The difficulty with the average, i.e., prejudiced, person is that behavior that is acceptable to him in members of his own group is repugnant in those of others; also that misbehavior by an alien individual is ascribed to the entire group rather than to that individual.

It would be of interest and profit to proceed with this inquiry. But inevitable limitations make this impossible at this time. We must, therefore, turn our attention to the main theme of our discussion: namely, the effect of group attitudes upon personality and character.

The inevitable, though probably unconscious, feeling of superiority on the part of members of a dominant or majority culture, is not only destructive from the point of view of emotional growth, but is also socially and culturally disadvantageous. In addition to a sadistic trend and the development of aggressiveness, the social aspects of personality are definitely stunted. Intellectual hospitality has little chance to flourish under these conditions. There is no room here for a philosophy of life compatible with the best interests of mankind as a whole nor for positive relations with one's neighbors. The greatest danger lies in the fact, however, that members of a majority group assume a superiority to those of a minority. This attitude is insidious. To assume superiority by virtue of descent or belonging to any group, religion, or party is not only unwarranted, but it also distorts the sense of values. It blocks the striving for growth and self-perfection. Real superiority must be drawn from real achievement. It cannot be drawn from the past. Aristocracy has been characterized as being like potatoes: its best part is in the ground. No member of any group can assume superiority to one of another group by virtue of that membership. Superiority must be achieved through growth and effort. It is this effort that brings individual development and power. When one assumes that he possesses power he no longer works toward achieving it; when he assumes he has grown there is no room left for further growth. As a result, the majority stagnate and decay if there is no leaven present such as other groups supply.

Minority Groups Are the Leaven

The history of all nations that have vanished from the earth demonstrates that homogeneous groups become rigid and inbred. Vitality in nature always comes from the influx or injection of something new from the outside. No organism can grow upon its own resources. There is no autarchy in nature. Something is always required from outside sources for replenishment and stimulation. The value of minor cultures lies in the fact that they set up new currents, new forces, and the need for new adjustments that call forth a variety of responses and new enterprises.

But, as already indicated, minority groups can contribute only when they are permitted to function *as a group*. In democratic countries such groups have been a boon to national growth.

They have risen to great heights, whereas the same peoples, when legalistically circumscribed and economically deprived in other countries, are barren. Their capacities as a group and as individuals remained dormant and unexpressed. Cultures that co-exist in geographic proximity cannot be altogether isolated. Even if iron fences of law and discrimination are built around them, there occurs an inevitable diffusion and interchange of attitudes and values. Forms can be outlawed, but relations among men cannot. There are always present sympathies and friendships, common interests and economic forces, love for adventure, sex, and other personal motives that compel cultural spread. Cultures in proximity form concentric circles that spread and overlap. To the extent that these are encouraged and helped in a life of mutualistic effort, to that extent is a nation vitalized.

Advantages and Disadvantages

The cultural duality of minority groups has its disadvantages as well as advantages to the individuals forming these groups. Participation in the life of more than one group may prove confusing to the young and immature. The difference in ideologies, values, practices, and behavior in and out of the home form a maze of confusion from which one must evolve toward clarity. If and when this clarity is achieved, there emerges a person of higher development, richness, and tolerance. However, a very large number do not emerge with such insights and full understanding. They remain in a state of conflict and confusion, with attendant psychological dislocations and anxieties.

A member of a minority inevitably feels himself set apart from the bulk of the population. To varying degrees he feels himself circumscribed and limited. Even if this does not give rise to a feeling of being rejected, which is usually the case, the sense of difference that is set up results in a feeling of inferiority. Modern psychology has amply demonstrated the fact that to be different in any respect whatever arouses inferiority. Whether this unlikeness is physical, mental, personal or national, it is bound to have such an effect with resulting unconscious reactions that are permanently absorbed into the personality. Some of the reactions to the insecurity and anxiety that originate from these feelings are the overcompensations and protections found in haughtiness, conceit, aggressiveness, acquisitiveness, exhibitionism, and a false sense of personal and national greatness.

It is evident, therefore, that where a major culture represses minorities, it creates social pathology that affects not only the members of those minorities but also the total national life. Degradation has never been successfully confined to quarters for which it was intended: it readily spreads and engulfs everyone, the persecutors as well as the persecuted. A program of national hygiene, therefore, encourages the fulfilment of its constituents' cultures and permits free interaction among the various groups.

The opportunity that minorities have for participating in the national life places upon them definite responsibilities. In the first place, they must prevent psychological insularity from other cultural groups. There is danger in emphasis upon traditionalism and ritualism that will lead each group to retain its separatedness from all others, thus creating a heterogeneity incompatible with effective national life. Minority groups need to make modifications in their values and cultural content so as to make unified national living possible. They must adopt the language of the major group, for example, and discard traditional dress that would set them apart from others. Some of the dominant patterns of conduct, of social intercourse, and of methods of dealing with each other are an outcome of the interaction of the major and minor cultures. Culture groups residing next to each other must also prevent an attitude of chauvinism and a feeling of racial or national superiority. Such superiority is usually a product of imagination or a protective doctrine. Even if the achievements of one nation may be somewhat richer than those of others, they have been achieved in the remote past. Excellence such as this, like light, diminishes with distance. At any rate, an attitude of superiority, whether individual or racial, cannot but arouse hostility and opposition on the part of others, a situation detrimental to a unified national life. Present-day emphasis upon the various psychological "distances" must be minimized and differences and contrasts reduced so as to assure a free approach to and easy communication among members of the various groups.

Although there are definite and indisputable disadvantages in being a member of a minority group, some of which have been indicated here, there are also a number of advantages. Chief among these lies in the fact that belonging to two distinct cultural groups makes it possible to draw upon both and thereby enrich one's personality. As already stated, if one is not confused by this dual relation, he has a real opportunity for a wider scope of function and interests. To be a product of two sources of inspiration, and be nurtured by the wisdom and literature of more than one group is not only a privilege but a definite advantage: one has more raw material from which to build his personality. Especially is this advantageous when one has been able to fuse and unify the several and different influences, knowledges, and wisdom into one whole. Here are possibilities for a really rich philosophy of life.

Belonging to more than one cultural group is akin to traveling. Spiritual insularity and provincialism of mind and manner are reduced through living and visiting in countries other than one's own. New impressions, different learnings, and greater receptivity are acquired. Also there appear a "polish" and cosmopolitanism that are too elusive to describe, but that are easily recognizable. These advantages can be (though not always are) gained, from cultural duality, and in a form more profound and telling. They can also be attained by members of any cultural group who are openminded enough to expose themselves to the influences of others within their own country or city, and to absorb the best. This presupposes an initial breadth of personality and attitude of acceptance characteristic of superior people.

The X-factors in Intercultural Education

We have studiously evaded injecting the economic elements in culture conflicts. This was done not because we are unaware of them, but rather because the immediate situation cannot be greatly improved through this more fundamental approach. More hope lies for intercultural relations in the immediate future through educational means and group action than by the more remote, though essential, economic changes. It has been stated by a number of observers and writers that international conflict does not arise from cultural conflict but rather from the struggle for possession of physical goods. Spiritual goods are rarely if ever the cause of war among peoples. They are offered as the immediate reason and employed as a bait or justification for a war, but material considerations are almost always the real cause. The hidden motives beyond race and other group conflicts are almost invariably economic and material, which, in the course of time, are absorbed as attitudes and ideals. This is being definitely demonstrated by contemporary events in some European countries. We can all share the spiritual goods—concerts, opera, arts, drama and literature—without coming into conflict. But as has been pointed out, two people cannot use the same coat nor occupy the same land at the same time. It is from the drive to possession of such material things that war and hatred arise. Thus, the problem of minority groups is in the last analysis rooted in the socio-economic structure of capitalist society.

However, although the educator should be aware of these larger and more remote determinants in social life, the immediate educational work in school, home, and leisure-time agencies must occupy his attention. There are undoubtedly educational influences necessary for members of minority groups that are not so essential for members of majorities, and *vice versa.* Thus education must counteract the already outlined feelings of difference and distance and the resultant sense of fear and of being inferior.

In minority groups, it is necessary to reinforce the personality against the overt discriminations that every member of such groups has to withstand some time in his life, and to build up resources against inner psychological stress that results from it. Education, whose chief aim is to establish harmony between the ever-evolving individual and the changing realities of the outside world, has here an added function. It must find some means of lessening the strain in the members of minority groups; preserve subjective harmony; and, above all, establish attitudes that will prevent undue stress and emotional disorganization in the face of social and personal hostility.

This can be done in several ways. In the first place, a member of a minority group must establish a rationale for his adherence to that group. He must understand the problems involved and the difficulties he must encounter. Awareness of a problem is half its solution. Secondly, the special education that is here envisaged seeks to build up emotional and philosophical reserves with which one can face the strain. This has been discussed in many relations to education generally and is applicable here as well. To a considerable extent, all psychologically minded education seeks to build up resistance to strain and tolerance to frustration. In the minority group, there is a need of additional effort in this direction. The most important of all needs to meet this situation are (a) the need for self-acceptance in spite of one's handicaps, which we described on p. 158, (b) a realistic view of the total world situation, and (c) finding means for natural compensations, which were also discussed elsewhere in this volume. One must accept as inevitable the handicaps that accrue from membership in a minority group as well as learn to enjoy its advantages. This would lead to a realistic attitude toward the total situation rather than acrimonious resentment and compensatory phantasy.

The sources of the natural compensation that a member of a minority group can draw upon lie in his appreciation of the heritage of his background, its cultural values, and its contributions to the enrichment of his own personality, to his group, and to the world generally. He must recognize with satisfaction that the infiltration of his own culture into that of the majority spells enrichment to the national life. The aims of minority group education are to bring forth attributes of personality in the young that will make them praiseworthy and progressively minded members of the larger community as well as of their special group. It must be recognized that this type of education is, on the one hand, a process of fortifying the ego, of building self-esteem and self-confidence, while on the other it is an enrichment and development of character: the ability to bear pain and frustration; emotional poise; intellectual clarity; philosophical objectivity; and a social vision.

Members of the dominant groups need to realize that superiority and excellence must be achieved through individual effort. Superiority by virtue of belonging to a special group is no superiority at all. Members of majority as well as minority groups must be made to realize through their family, school, church, and other educational influences that their standing in the community and recognition from their fellow-men are based upon their individual development. Their own achievements and excellence are the sole bases upon which they are to judge themselves as they are indeed judged by others. The accident of birth into a majority group does not entitle one to haughtiness and a feeling of superiority, prerogatives, and privileges. These are not only unjust to all other groups residing in the same country, but in addition tend to check their own personal development of power and resourcefulness.

The doctrine that excellence and worth are individual achievements and not hereditary or reflected must be brought home to every individual, whatever his affiliations. This would seem to be the very foundations of what we understand to be civilization and a democratic society. Even in staid England the traditional primogeniture principle for membership in the House of Lords is questioned in many quarters. These persons suggest that each family of peers elect their outstanding member to represent them in the upper house of the empire. Members of dominant cultures need to be made to understand that their persecutions of the less powerful groups is a reaction to fear on their own part. It is an admission of an unconscious feeling of weakness and jealousy. The truly strong never abuse their strength. It is only the weak, who have a need to appear strong, who act unreasonably. It is a singular fact that the conquerors of history were physically puny. People can be spiritually as well as physically small of stature. Members of the majority group must be trained not to evade their feelings of inadequacy by striking out as do infants and children. Further, it must be recognized that economically pampered and culturally dominant groups tend to become egotistic, domineering, self-centered, lacking in sympathy and tolerance, snobbish, and superciliously superior. It is quite evident how such attitudes undermine wholesome character formation, and lead to faulty criteria for life and unhappy adjustments. When attitudes of exclusiveness and superiority are encouraged and intensively nurtured in childhood, the individual is bound to develop psychopathic and irrational traits, which constitute one of the causes of our growing number of mentally disturbed persons. Frequently these mental imbalances are garnished as world-doctrines, imposing philosophies of life, and principles. These theories, however, are usually promoted and sponsored by very sick people.

INDEX

A

- Acceptance, 43
  - social, 41
- Achievement, 18
- Action
  - and thought in adult education, 199
  - and understanding, 23
- Activity
  - drives, 92
  - in controlled environment, 181
  - inhibitive, 29
  - method, 63 *et seq.*
    - in adult education, 190
  - patterns, 83, 94
- Actuality, 15
- Adaptation, adjustment vs., 152
- Adjustment v. adaptation, 152
- Adjustments to reality, 7
- Adolescent, 44
- Adult
  - assertiveness, 61
  - education
    - and activity method, 190
    - and the social scene, 193, 196, 197, 198, 199
    - cultural subjects in, 197
    - methods in, 192
    - objectives of, 191
    - social action in, 198, 202
    - special interests in, 60, 195, 197
    - subject matter of, 194
  - in activity method, 65
  - in education, 90, 91, 103, 144
- Adults
  - and children, 102, 137
  - and indoctrination, 189
  - in character development, 156
  - vs. children, 69, 71
- Adventure, intellectual, in education, 62
- Age, maturity vs., 190
- Agencies, character-building, 5
- Aggregation, 88
  - animal, 88
  - in nature, 73
- Aggression
  - and social purpose, 103
  - child's, 35
- Aggressiveness, intellectual, 56, 95
- Ambivalent, 31
- Anthropology and psychology, 27
- Anti-social, 91
- Anxiety
  - and conscience, 33
  - in delinquent, 138
  - physiologic, 163
- Assimilation, 79
- Attitudes
  - in family, 11
  - in parenthood, 157
  - towards self, 68
  - vs. achievement, 53
  - vs. facts, 172
- Authority, 13
  - and modern society, 12
  - parental, and culture, 46
- Autocratic regime, 2
- Avocational interests, 178

B

- Barbarians, 66
- Barbarism, return to, 53
- Berkeley-Hill, Major O., 209
- Bias and sound character, 17
- Biologic destiny, 145
- Boie, Maurine (*quoted*), 205
- Burt, Prof. Cyril, 150
- *Busy work* vs. educative activity, 64

C

- Cannon, 83
- Case work, 121
  - and group education, 127
  - and group work integration, 128
    - in Walden School, 129
    - in reform schools, 130
  - vs. psychiatry, 122
- Case worker, 122
- Centers
  - as social laboratories, 173, 181
  - in vocational guidance, 177
  - neighborhood, 18
- Change and anxiety, 16
- Character
  - and affection, 32
  - and appreciation of others, 95
  - and change, 186
  - and conviction, 186
  - and creativity, 182
  - and culture, 32
  - and education, 89
  - and experience, 31
  - and group dynamics, 85
  - and parenthood, 156

Character (continued)
  and rationalization, 36
  and sense of reality, 185
  as adjustment, 152
  as control, 151
  as discipline, 152
  as disposition, 152
  components of, 152
  defective, and discrimination, 210
  defined, 150
  differences in, 35
  education (*see also* Education), 55, 67
    indirect methods in, 155
    methods of, 35 *et seq.*, 153
    pleasure in, 161
  infantile sources of, 34
  integration and ego drives, 99
  sources of defective, 32
  vs. personality, 150
Child
  and adults, 102, 137
  assertiveness, 61, 63
  dream world of, 70 *et seq.*
  respect for, 18
  study, 13
Children, adults vs., 69, 71
Church, 13
  and culture, 46
  Mormon, 33
Classes, special, 124
Clinic, consultative, 130
Code, primary group, 44, 87
Co-education, 145, 147
Cohesiveness, group, 80
Collective tendency, 113
Communal participation as a method, 170
Communication drive, 114
Community, articulate, vs. dependent, 202
Compensations, 157
Competition, 86, 167
  in informal education, 168
  values of, 153
Compromise (*see* Neutralization)
Conflict, 85
  and character, 36
Confusion, youth faces, 6, 7
Conscience
  as group control, 34
  social, 30
  tyranny of, 33
Conscienceless, 138
Controlled environment in activity, 181
Conviction and social-mindedness, 50
Co-operation
  in adult education, 196
  in primitive groups, 25
Cosmopolitanism, 215
Craftsmen, 89
Creative
  expression, 148
  imagination as an aim, 182
  power as an aim, 182
  socially, 1
  urge, 93, 110
    and total personality, 119
Creativity, 111
  and character, 182
  and rebellion, 46
Criminality, incidence of, 22
Criteria for permissive culture, 13
Cultural
  emphasis, 27, 34
  lag, 4, 205
  matrix, 35
  pluralism, 205
  provincialism and intolerance, 207
  spread, 28
Culture
  defined, 205
  democratic, 2
  forces of, 11
  modern, 6
  permissive, 12, 13, 133
    and education, 19
    education in, 14
  primitive, 82
  repressive, 13
Cultures
  macro-, 37
  micro-, 37
  repressive, 6
Curiosity, 109
  and hatred, 106
Curriculum (*see* School)

D

Democracy, 2, 62
  and dynamic education, 62
  and schools and centers, 189
Democratic
  living, foundations of, 47
  society and personality, 4
Dependence, infantile, 16
Deprivations, man's basic, 21
"Desire to be the only one," 81
Development
  arrested, and integration, 83
  confused, 44
  differentials in, 45
  orderly, 44, 94
  progressive, 11
Developmental phases, 92
Dewey, John (*quoted*), 62
Dictator (*see also* Autocratic), 2
Difference, feeling of, 207
Discipline in character education, 154

Discovery
  and education, 56
  through activity, 70
Disharmonies
  in modern life, 187
  in personality, 20
Disharmony in culture, 21
Distortion of character, 8
Distrust by child, 71
Disturbances, mental incidence of, 22
Dominance and friendship, 88
Doukhobors, 33
Drive
  communication, 114
  to-be-the-cause, 109
  to discovery, 108

E

Education
  aims of, 19
  adult (*see* Adult)
  and activity, 29
  and character, 89, 101
  and culture-attitudes, 208
  and experience, 29
  and free expression, 188
  and guidance, 67
  and hatred, 106
  and re-education compared, 137
  and self-determination, 97
  apprentice, 61
  character (*see* Character)
  child-centered, 66
  community-centered vs. child-centered, 54
  definition of, 52
  dynamic, 62, 114, 186
  exploitive, 61
  for parenthood, 156
  for personality development, 140
  functions of, 1
  group, 126
  group-centered, 66
  health, 141
  informal, 55
    in vocational guidance, 177
  in primitive societies, 26, 29
  intellect in, 69
  intercultural, 215
  interpersonal, 81
  love-giving, 19
  materials of, 89
  method, 57, 60, 70
    acquisitive, 58
    attitudinal, 59
    functional, 58
    of activity, 63
  objective, 5
  objectives, 1, 3, 15, 31, 53, 57, 60, 67, 72, 89, 90, 94, 99, 141, 181, 187, 204
  pre-logical phase of, 68
  program, integrative, 148
  progressive, 13, 116
  sex, 144
  social (*see* Social)
  task of, 17
  through groups, 43
  vs. culture pattern, 52, 61
  vs. propaganda, 63
  vs. schooling, 52
Ego ideal, 157
Emotion, 45
  infectiousness of, 76
Ends and means, 23
Experience and "spiritual digestion," 211
Experiences, new, need for, 98
Exploratory tendency, 108
Expression, creative, 148

F

Facts vs. attitudes, 172
Family
  and society, 11
  guidance, 142
  in personality development, 38, 41, 44, 46
Fascism, 46
Father in personality development, 46
Fear and hate, 209
Feeling of belonging, 83
Fixations, 112
Fleming, H. (*quoted*), 171, 173
Forster, E. M., 210
Freedom
  in education, 19
  of function as a method, 165
Friendship and dominance, 88
Frustrations
  functions of, 18
  re-enforce against, 18

G

Gestalt, 83, 84, 186
  theory of conservatism, 84
Glueck, Dr. Bernard,
  145, 151, 156 (*quoted*), 162
Grant, Heber J., 33
Grisby, Rall I. (*quoted*), 188
Group
  activity as a method, 165
  and character education, 31
  and ego ideal, 157
  and personality, 47
  as a triangle, 74
  coactivity as a method, 166
  code, primary, 44, 87

Group (continued)
  definition of, 74
  disintegration and projection, 82
  education, 126
    in case work and psychiatry, 127
    vs. school, 127
  experience, 88
  homogeneity and survival, 206
  hysteria, 77
  in character formation, 85
  life, 13
  polarity, 80
  process, 1, 2
  one-sex, 39
  therapy, 122
  two-sex, 39
  work
    and case work integration, 128
      in Walden School, 129
    definition of, 31
Groupings among young children, 87
Groups
  and leadership, 183
  extra-familial, 20
  homogeneous, 79, 83
  majority (*see* Majority)
  minority (*see* Minority)
  pressure, 14
  primitive, 24
  special, 124
  vested interest, 17
Growth
  and motivation, 55
  and resistance, 102
  interests and, 54
  multi-dimensional, 185
  needs of, 117
Guidance
  family, 142
  in self-government, 169
  psychological, 143
  school, 147
  vocational, 175
Guilt, 32

H

Habit of changing habit, 186
Handicapped children, physically, 125
Hartshorne and May (*quoted*), 154
Hatred, 204, 209
  and demagogue, 106
  and fear, 209
  center of, 106
  training of, 104 *et seq.*
Health
  education, 141
  survey in schools, 118
Hegner, Herman F. (*quoted*), 55
Helvetius (*quoted*), 73
Henderson, Prof. David K. (*quoted*), 118
Hitchens, Robert, 209
Home, 11
Homogeneity, group, and survival, 206
Horney, Dr. Karen (*quoted*), 72
Hospitality, intellectual, 202
  as an aim, 185
Hostility, 38, 85
Human nature, 23
  and culture, 28
  and environment, 27
Hygiene, mental, 13
  definition of, 116
  emphases of, 117
  task of, 16
Hysteria, group, 77

I

Ideal, ego, 157
Idealism, 186
Idealists, 53
Ideals vs. necessity, 53
Identification
  mutual, 79
  need for, 112
  with groups, 20
Idleness, enforced, and avocational interests, 178
Immature, 20
Immobilizing, 1
Impulse
  collective, 34
  procreative, 20
  vs. culture, 20
Impulses
  aggressive, 20
  and phantasy, 70
  egocentric, 13
Individualism, 19
Individualization in treatment and education, 136
Indoctrination, 189
Induction, 76, 86
Infantilism, 66, 67, 172
Inhibitions of civilization, 3
Initiation in primitive societies, 26
Innatenesses and personality, 140
Innovation and rebellion, 48
Insecurity and conservatism, 16
Instincts vs. society, 33
Institutions, leisure-time, 53
Insularity, spiritual, 215
Integration, 83
Integrative educational program, 148
Interaction, 75, 86
Intercommunication and cultural spread, 28
Intercultural education, 215

Interests
  avocational, 178
  progression of, 54
  special, in adult education, 195
  spectator, 60
  types of, 94
  vs. growth, 54
  vested, 48
Interstimulation, 75, 76
Intolerance, 207
  causes for, 208
Isaacs, Dr. Susan (*quoted*), 106

J

Japan, 35
Job in personality development, 40

K

Kallen, Prof. Horace (*quoted*), 172
Kotinsky, Ruth (*quoted*), 191

L

Lag
  cultural, 4, 205
    and education, 16
Laissez faire, 164
Law of function in social education, 173
Leader
  club, 38
  personality, qualifications of, 188
Leadership as an aim, 183
Leisure and avocational interests, 178
Levy, Dr. David, 121
Life, instinctive, 20
London Zoo, monkeys in, 77
Love, 204
  and permissiveness, 19
  ego-, 91
  needs, 18
  object-, 91
Loyalty, 83
Lund, John R. (*quoted*), 167

M

Macro-cultures, 117
  in personality development, 37 *et seq.*
Maids, 211
Majority groups, 212
  educational needs of, 217
Man's
  basic deprivations, 21
  impulses and needs, 21
Marsden, 83
Masochism, 32, 80
Mason, Prof. Daniel Gregory (*quoted*), 179
Mass action, 166
Mass-mindedness, 57, 66
  menace of, 49
  vs. social-mindedness, 49, 67
Mastery, drives for, 107 *et seq.*
Maturity
  and social impulse, 20
  flight from, 46
  in college students, 172
  vs. age, 190
May, and Hartshorne (*quoted*), 154
Mead, Margaret, 24
Mechanisms, psychologic, 73
Men
  and civilization, 21
  changes in, 21
Mental hygiene (*see* Hygiene)
Method of spontaneity, 55
Methods, educational, 53
Metropolitan Leaders' Association, 130
Micro-cultures, 117
  and social-mindedness, 51
  in personality development, 37 *et seq.*, 86
Minority groups, 204
  advantages of, 214
  as a leaven, 212
  disadvantages of, 213
  educational needs of, 216
Misbehavior, bio-chemical basis for, 117
Mob, interstimulation in, 76
Monkeys, 77
Monotony, effect of, 98
Morality, sex, in primitive groups, 25
Motivation
  in education, 55
  induced vs. organic, 55
Mutual identification, 79
Mutualism, 19
Myerson, Dr. Abraham (*quoted*), 80, 151

N

Narcissistic, 90
Nation, defined, 205
National Conference of Social Work, 43, 132, 135
Nature
  (*see also* Human nature)
  original, 88
  sublimating original, 20
Nazi Germany and group hysteria, 77
Necessity, ideals vs., 53
Needs
  of growth, 116
  of personality development, 160
  of security, 118
Neurotic delinquent, 138
Neutralization, 78 *et seq.*

New
  experiences, need for, 98
  vs. original, 110
New York Times (*quoted*), 168
Newton school system, 168
Non-competitive values as a method, 167
Normal vs. abnormal, 86

O

Objectivity and social-mindedness, 50
Opposition to social change, 5
Orthopsychiatry, 144

P

Pain, 18
Parenthood
  attitudes in, 157
  education for, 156
Parents in personality development, 46
Participation, communal, as a method, 170
Perpetuating self, 42
Persecution, effects of, 207
Person, mature, adjustments of, 51
Personalism, 20
Personality
  and environment, 86
  and group, 47, 73, 84
  and innatenesses, 140
  and phantasy, 71
  definition of, 139
  development, 67
    education for, 140
    interaction in, 75
    interstimulation in, 75
  distortions of, 115, 146
  healthy, definition of, 145
  limitations of, 157
  malformations of, 121
  needs, 160
  organic bases of, 162
  social, 99
  sources of, 121
  total, 15
  vs. character, 150
Pflügel, J. C. (*quoted*), 48, 209
Phantasy, 70
  value of, 71
Phase, self-centered, 100
Phases, developmental, 92
Philosophy of life as an aim, 186
Pilots, army air, 46
Pleasure
  and social development, 161
  motive, 161
  vs. reality, 20
Pluralism, cultural, 205
Polarization and social action, 81
Prejudice, 210
Primitive groups, 25
  possessiveness in, 25
Principle
  of graded reality, 185
  regulative, 30, 150, 152, 154
Problems, "third person," 75
Programs
  club, 54
  classroom, 54
Progressive education, 13
  values of, 116
Projection, 81, 82
Propaganda, education vs., 63
Psychiatry, 119
  and group education, 127
  methods of, 121
Psychological guidance, 143
  and tests, 177
Psychopathic persons, 120, 205
Psychotherapy, 119
  methods in, 123
Punishment and conscience, 34
Pursuit tendency, 108

R

Racial
  "superiorities" and "inferiorities," 205
  "purity," 210
Raup, Bruce (*quoted*), 4
Readiness, 54, 190
  for communal participation, 171
Reality, 101
  graded, principle of, 185
  sense of, as an aim, 184
Re-education, 135
  and education compared, 137
Reference, frame of, 15
Regulative principle, 30, 150, 152, 154
Rejection, 38, 85
Relations, teacher-pupil, 53
Repression
  in character education, 154
  in education, 90
Resistance as growth, 102
Responsibility, unconditional, 169
Restraint, outer, 14
Retarded children, 125
Rivalry, 81, 86
Roback, Prof. A. A., 150
Roosevelt, Franklin D. (*quoted*), 20
Rousseau (*quoted*), 69
Royalty, 211
Rugg and Shumaker (*quoted*), 111
Rugged individualism in schools, 171

S

Sadism, 32, 67, 208
Sanctions, inner, 14
School, 16
  as social laboratory, 173, 181
  curriculum, 22
  guidance, 147
  in vocational guidance, 177
Schooling
  definition of, 52
  elementary, in adult education, 192
Secrecy, evil of, 71
Security
  needs of, 117
  quest for, 16
Self
  -determination, 97
  -direction as a method, 168
  -government
    and responsibility, 170
    as a method, 168
  -love, 90
  -maximation, 146
  tolerance toward, 158
Selective capacity, to refine, 180
Settlement house, old vs. new, 202
Sex
  as a basis of intolerance, 209
  education, 144
Sherrington, 83
Shumaker, Rugg and (*quoted*), 111
Situations, crossroad, 23
Slavson, S. R., 3 (*quoted*), 70, 94, 97
Smith, W. R. (*quoted*), 16, 165
Social
  action
    in adult education, 198, 202
    polarization in, 81
  change, 5
    and objectivity, 17
  development, and pleasure, 161
  education, 60, 61, 73, 81, 88, 90
    basic principle of, 169
    foundations of, 160
    methods of, 163
    vs. societal, 161
  experimentation, 56
  -mindedness, 57
  people, defined, 161
  scene, and adult education, 193, 196, 197, 198, 199
Socialization, organic bases for, 162
Societal people, defined, 161
Society
  and probation, 10
  competitive, 19
  democratic, and personality, 3
  permissive, 10, 14
  primitive, and inhibitive will, 30
  profit-motivated, 62
  progressive, and negatives, 19
  rejecting, 9
  repressive, 14
  tasks of, 14
Speer, R. K., 70
Spiritual insularity, 215
Strength, abuse of, 218
Sublimation, 20
Submissiveness, intellectual, 100
Success, value of, 96
Survival and aggregation, 73

T

Taboos, 33
  in primitive societies, 26
Taste, development of, 181
Teacher
  in adult education, 194
  -pupil relations, 53
  visiting, 123
Teachers, 13, 38
  personality, qualifications of, 188
Techniques in education, 2
Tendency, collective, 113
Tensions, social, 66
Therapy group, 132
Thought and action in adult education, 199
Trends
  allotropic, 112
  dependence, 111
Tugwell, Rexford G. (*quoted*), 109

U

Unconscious, 121
Urge
  creative, 93, 110
  origination, 110

V

Values, non-competitive, 167
Vandalism, 126
Verbalization in education, 188
Vices, outline of, 163
Virtues, outline of, 163
Visiting teacher, 123
Vocational guidance, 175
  and self-discovery, 176

W

Walden School, 129
War, causes for, 215
Wertheimer, 83

Will
  free, 180
  foundations of, 180
  inhibitive, 30
  social, 30
  training of, 103
Wittels, Dr. Fritz (*quoted*), 75
Words, omnipotence of, 69
Work, creative, in personality development, 45
Worries in school children, 119

X

X-factors in intercultural education, 215

Y

Youth, 3, 6, 7
  and impulse, 20
  and rejection, 9

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